ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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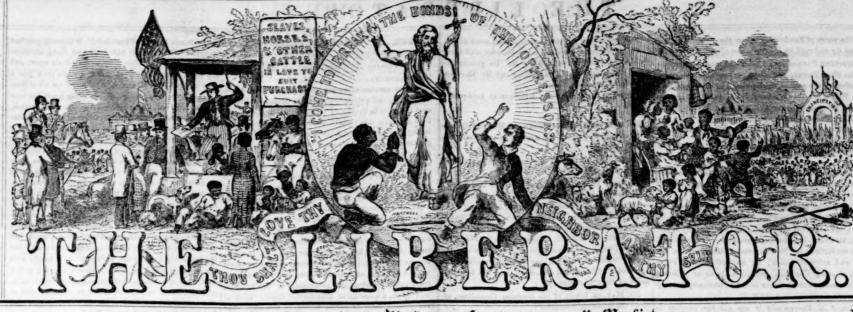
three times for 75 cents-one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, vania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are aual to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ee, but are not responsible for any of the debta I the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY

NG. EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

Flathe columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 23.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manfind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders! THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholdir lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

esent to the Constitution, three special provisions To SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade ; the sec

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES -- AN engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

najority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1144.

# NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-

VENTION. The annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention embled at the Melodeon in Boston, on Tuesday, May th, and was called to order at half-past 10 o'clock, Samuel May, Jr., who, on behalf of the Committee Arrangements, proposed that FRANCIS JACKSON be exested to preside over the deliberations of the Con-The unanimous AYE of the Convention con-

Mr. Jackson, saying that he should have much preterel that some other person should occupy the place, essel his readiness always to serve the Convention

Mr. May, from the Committee of Arrangements, rened the remaining officers and committees of the

Vice Presidents-Edmund Quiney, of Massachugits; Peter Libby, of Maine ; Jehiel Claffin, of New-Whiteomb, of Connecticut ; Robert Purvis, of Penubusia; Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester; Robet llassall, of Haverhill ; J. B. Swasey, of Newburyper; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford. Secretaries-William H. Fish, Samuel May, Jr., and

Committee on Finance-Lewis Ford, Joseph A. Howed Elbridge Sprague, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Sallie

Holley, Reuben A. Ober. Basiness Committee-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Marius R. Robinson, Maria Chapman, Eliza L. Follen, Charles Lenox Remond, Stephen S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, Charles C. Bur-

The Convention unanimously accepted the proposed

Rev. ROBERT HASSALL, of Haverhill, offered a most ment and impressive prayer, full of the spirit of uni-

The Business Committee having retired for consultain, the Convention was addressed by Samuel May, , who gave a brief account of the meeting held in ak Street Church, last Sunday evening. It was the est appearance in Boston of the ' Southern Aid Socie-'-a Society organized in New York city, a few years nee, for the purpose of supplying the South with just sich a pro-slavery Gospel as it demands, -- for the purose of supporting such missionaries in the slaveholdog States as may be appointed by the slaveholders ad preachers sent forth by the Home Missionary Assciation, and other similar Societies. Mr. May mentittel Rev. Drs. Blagden, Nebemiah Adams, Waterbuy, and Joel Parker, as actors in the late meeting : is, lev. Harvey Woods, of Mississippi, who declared limit a slaveholder, and hoped there would be no tife between the Christians of the North and the ciations of the land, whether professedly re-

L.C. Civen commented upon the various newspaper Eports of the doings of the Society, and expressed his com of the hollow and hypocritical piety of the men the appeared at its late meeting. He referred to the ate assault upon Charles Sumner, at Washington, with much feeling.

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions :

The first eight of this series, relating to the recent anly and elequent speech of the Hon, CHARLES SUMon the Kansas question, and the dastardly assault apon his person in the Senate Chamber by PRESTON S. The Liberator of last week, we omit them here, and

2. Resolved, That a false oath is not to be taken, nor a wicked law obeyed, nor a blood-stained compact upil; that what can be secured only by perjury or conting at sin, is not worth possessing, and not to be accepted to secure any amount of good whatever; that here is but one rule of duty, the law of God-but one wjest of consideration, the liberty of man-but one my of every honest man will be, ' Let justice be done, bough the heavens fall."

accessistency of those who are seeking to transform the applause. tofi-slavery cause into a mere territorial struggle, in of imbruted slaves at the South, but only one of ted not on the rights of man-sacrificing one race for figitive slave in every section of the land.

Resolved, That slavery in a Territory is no worse Amine than slavery in a State; that Kansas is no led to none in seal and effort to prevent the extension if that most hideous system, and appreciate at its true the whatever is said or done to baffle the designs of ing, ve declare every other issue to be deceptive and hile, except that of the liberation of every slave, and sparation of the North from the South as a moral se speedy downfall of clavery universally.

Resolved, That the successive invasions of Kanrous atrocity any code yet devised by human their numberless crimes and bloody out-Age apon the persons of the free settlers of that territheir introduction and establishment of dayery, at the point of the bowie-knife and re

States is in the hands of as unscrupulous and traitorous gy, we should be likely to be better abolitionists. a conclave as ever yet sought to dethrone God and to crucify Liberty; that American democracy is but the loved most in his native land was that Wilberforce had synonym for political villany intensified, toryism run lived and labored there, and that, by the labors of himthe lawful President of the United States, is the chief ed and desired liberty every where, that his countrymore deserving of execuation than Benedict Arnold, his strength to the Anti-Slavery cause. and more worthy of being brought to the block than Charles I.

14. Resolved, That the primary cause of the growth, extension and perpetuity of slavery-of all the heartburnings, antagonisms and feuds between the North famphire; Asa Fairbanks, of Rhode Island; James and the South-of whatever has been oppressive, perfidious and dishonorable in our national career-is be found in the attempt to unite Liberty and Slavery, the institutions of freedom and those of absolute but could not fight, even for freedom. espotism, the interests of freemen and those of menealers and slave-drivers, in one compact-an experinent wild, desperate, and God-defying, from the beginupremacy of the Slave Power.

15. Resolved, That a Union in which one seventh portion of the population is so much personal property; in more than one half of which, the freedom of the press and of speech is cloven down, and Lynch law is the only code by which the friends of impartial liberty are tried; which nourishes the wickedest and most tyare tried; which nourishes the wickedest and most tyobedience without giving protection, and renders freelom of conscience and equal rights impossible; is a Union which was 'not fit to have been made,' which ought not to be perpetuated, and which cannot be more accurately described than as 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with bell.' Therefore,

16. Resolved, That to this people is fearfully applicable the language of the prophet : - Because ye have said. We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us ; have we hid ourselves : therefore, thus saith the Lord easiles; and which justifies its existence by the God, Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness but that the South has become suspicious of the agents to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the Summer, and while our friends and brethren in Kansas shall be trodden down by it."

to wage deadly war against the free institutions slavement of the working classes, without regard to now threatens. Dissolution of the Union is now the complexional distinction or geographical boundary; only practical method for us to adopt. merable outrages upon the persons and liberties of as follows :-Northern citizens caught within her limits, even selling SPEECH OF REV. MR. CONWAY. many of them into interminable bondage; no other al- I do not stand here, this afternoon, because I expectternative is left the North but to separate from her, or ed to stand here ; nor because I take precisely the views

a point as central as practicable, for the purpose of has put me, down in my own little church of some four oxs, of South Carolina, having been published in taking measures to effect a peaceable withdrawal from or five hundred persons at Washington. There we an alliance which an experience of more than three have gone on in our own way, doing what seemed to us it has been disastrous to genuine republicanism and a es or attend any anniversaries. I have come to Boston pure Christianity.

tion in the Convention aforesaid

10. Resolved, That we deplore the moral blindness and the deepest attention, and was often interrupted by ilies, by our course on that matter.

toniance with the Missouri Compromise—making it others doubtlessly came, to the city in sadness, yet not ed this morning, is not the country on which our eyes langer a question as to the liberation of four milin despair ;—he never could despair of such a cause as closed last night. The country we lived in last week ours. In reply to some of his anti-slavery friends, who was not the country we live in now-not by any means. latistic and longitude—basing it on a corrupt bargain, frequently told him that deeds and not words are now I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could him that deeds and not words are now I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could him that deeds and not words are now I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could him that deeds and not words are now I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could needed, he insisted that however much good Sharpe's see that there was any force acting in this country which the benefit of another—and consenting to the constitu-lical protection of slavery in fifteen States of the Union where the constitution of the constitution of slavery in fifteen States of the where it now exists, and to the outlawry of the of God, uncompromisingly and faithfully, must be our strained by any outward political associations, we might chief reliance. The better elements of the human soul have hope;—that so long as government force did not must be aroused before anything can be effectually ac-Site entitled to freedom than Carolina; and while we Wrong views of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the always willing to say, that I did not care even to distinct the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the always willing to say, that I did not care even to distinct the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the always willing to say, that I did not care even to distinct the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the always willing to say, that I did not care even to distinct the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted the same of the Bible that the same of way of the cause of Liberty. That book is made to sanc- cuss the question of the Union, or of political action. tion slavery. But a different view must be presented, and To do the duty that lay next to us seemed the best polthe Save Power in regard to future territorial acquisithe authority of the deep and humane convictions of icy, trusting, like the great German, that light would opinions, but he held humanity paramount to all theogies and all sects.

his knowledge, which he regarded as quite encourag. North has,-I do not mean all the force that the North taby the Missouri bandits—their seizure of the ballotlag, and escretain of governmental authority—their
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his election as a member of the Publishing Committ eliments in regard to slavery, surpassing and Rev. A. L. Stone was elected in his place. The istration. What is to be the result of putting down vote, he was told, stood 56 for Mr. Stone to 42 for Dr. all the anti-slavery action and power that there is there, proving after victim having been assassinated with pleaded his own case, and told his own c The control of the bowie-knife and rewiews accorded fully with those of the control of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has to resist the fall of the power that New England has the superior that the fall of the power that the po Such to States, and now by the army of the United ject a good friend to anti-slavery! But all would not slavery being instantly eleckmated by the superior do. The Society voted to dispense with his services.

portray and no language express, and in comparison prove true, and if so, it was a most encouraging with which the grievances suffered by our revolutiona- circumstance. Mr. G. expressed his high regard for ry fathers are as dust in the balance.

13. Resolved, That the government of the United view that, if we could all come to agree in our theological transfer of the United view that, if we could be likely to be better abolitionists.

Mr. HINTON, of England, said that that which he to seed; that FRANKLIN PIERCE has perfidiously be- self and his associates, slavery had been abolished trayed the liberties of the North by his ready subser- throughout the dominions of Great Britain. He deviency to the Southern oligarchy, and, instead of being clared himself to be a republican in heart, that he lovof bandits and the incarnation of 'Border Ruffianism,' men were all mankind. He pledged himself with all

spoke with great earnestness of the Christian spirit and work of the anti-slavery cause, and expressed her gratitude to Mr. Garrison and others, who had labored so faithfully in that cause.

Rev. JEHIEL CLAFLIN, of New Hampshire, raised the question whether deadly weapons should be used in carrying on the anti-slavery cause. He thought not.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH Spoke of the case of Mr. Sumner as a foreshadowing of the fate that awaits us all, if ning, and naturally ending in the subversion of the slavery should triumph. He was glad, however, that perties of the people, the inauguration of Border some idea of freedom was being beaten into the people Ruffianism' in the Presidential chair, and the complete through the shattered skull of the distinguished Senator. But no new thing had happened, he said; such

cowardly and iniquitous acts-infinitely more iniquitous press and of speech is cloven down, and Lynch law is ment, acted out in Kansas, he insisted, is worse than unical oligarchy known in any land; which demands that such infamous outrages would yet rouse Massachuthe dissolution of the Union, was only a question of time; and he thought it ought to be a questi but of an infinitessimal portion of time-the clock ought not to strike again before the result should come. Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

Andrew T. Foss said that it had happened most remarkably, for many years past, that some unusual and striking occurrence had taken place just prior to our for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood annual anti-slavery assemblage here. This year we meet, while the hearts of the people are astonished and indignant at the recent murderous assault upon Charles refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding- are shot down by ruffians, and the new and flourishing place; and your covenant with death shall be annulled, town of Lawrence laid waste by the forces of Slavery, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when armed and authorised by the President of the United the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye States. But, though he regarded Mr. Sumner as a great and good man, and be had a great deal of sympathy 17. Resolved, That the South having boldly thrown with him, in his suffering, he nevertheless rejoiced, away her mask, and avowed her determination not on-Origins of the South. Mr. May said he regarded by to eternize slavery on her soil, but to extend it as upon him. It would help arouse the nation. But what the Southern Aid Society as the most brazen-faced, her natural and constitutional right wherever the are we to do? No political party, not even the Repubapalent, heartless, God-defying association among all | American flag shall be carried; and proclaimed her | lican, can do much in the Union and under the Constitution. For all that these parties can do, in such a posiof the North, to their utter subversion, and the en- tion, slavery will extend itself all over the land, as it

> and having outlawed every one who denies the right to Rev. Mr. Conway, of Washington, D. C., next took make man the property of man, and committed inpu- the platform, and spoke in an earnest and manly strain

to wear the chains of degrading and abject vassalage. which have been expressed by the last speaker; nor because I have any union with any particular associa-18. Resolved, That a delegated Convention of the tion of any kind, religious or social. I profess only to Free States should be held at as early a period and at be a worker in the sphere in which it seems to me God core years has demonstrated to be as impracticable as the best; and I have not come to Boston to make speechbecause our church in Washington has given way-19. Resolved, That, to secure this desirable object, physically, not spiritually, not vitally. The walls, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery which had been standing some thirty-five years, gave Society is hereby respectfully requested to appoint way, just as our church was getting strong, inwardly; committees of correspondence and vigilance in the sev- and I may add, that if any of you are disposed to eral Free States, who shall be duly empowered to make take the hint, my address is at Little & Brown's. We ist of character, fidelity to principle; and that the all necessary arrangements to secure a full representa- have found that we have lost the purse of the church by taking anti-slavery ground, having shed eight or The reading of these resolutions was listened to with

But, sir, I came here to say, what may be obvious Rev. Mr. Hassall said that he had come, as many to all of us, that the country on which our eyes openomplished; and this work is not to be done by force. vidual strength of any one in the government, I was

What is the news that comes to our reluctant ears today? Why, most probably, that Lawrence lies in ANDREW T. Foss said he rose to give to the Con- ashes, that the only true men that represent the whole and religious duty, and as a sure method of effecting vention a piece of information, which had just come to Northern power, all its authority, all the force that the North Adams. Dr. Adams appeared at the meeting, and which is thus cradicated? Why, just so surely as you, mittee, as he had more influence at the South, and his representatives-with Congressional powers greater, views accorded fully with those of the Northern States. far greater, that New England has ever had. Just con-

If it must come, let us be brave, true-hearted, and people here have no idea, not the remotest, of what slafaithful to our duty If we are irretrievably bound, as very is. They do not realize it. They have a certain individuals, then must we balance our individual soul thing called liberty, which they believe to be right, and and sense of right against the whole world. The hy- they believe that slavery, in the abstract, is wrong,

uestion of slavery is the test of the moral honesty of amine its history, its bearing on social life, the This is the terrible power that hangs over all of us, as could be spread abroad at the North. I know th tion and animal life-these lower strata could not have represent it this day. (Loud cheers.)

THE LIBERATOR.

the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—constitute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would have a disposition to be quiet on this question.

THE LIBERATOR.

The utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—constitute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would have a disposition to be quiet on this question.

The property of the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—constitute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would have a disposition to be quiet on this question. possibility of obtaining a majority in Congress that I am afraid that many things that are charged upon should resist slavery, who should stand there as Charles | them by what are termed the Garrisonian Abolitionists, Summer has stood there, were ready to act without are too true. They want to nominate Col. Fremont for respect to taking such ground as now seems to be al- President. What is the reason? I believe Col. Freost 'necessary to many minds. I will say, for one, mont is opposed to slavery. He is a romantic young that I never could. I trust you will allow me my man; an ambitious specimen of young America; a nofrankness, my freedom, on this platform. I cannot see ble-hearted, chivalrous man - if that word has any the consistency, quite-I do not say others do not-I meaning now. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have know it is meant with perfect consistency, and is taken | yet to see the first word he has said that commits him to with great sincerity-I say I cannot quite see the any principle on this subject. It is true, he does symconsistency of those, who hold the idea of no political pathise with the struggle to make Kansas a free State, action, ever paying taxes to the State that supports and with Gov. Robinson. I know the effort is being the Union. I say that if we, as men, finding that made to induce him to commit himself to some princithere is before us, for five centuries, inevitably, the ple on this subject, and it may be successful. But dominion of the Slave Power,-with all Kansas sub- many Anti-Slavery people think that men at Washingjected to slavery, with a slave representation in Con- ton cannot be trusted on this question. They cannot gress laughing at its case with a majority for five cen- There is too much corruption in the air there, too many turies ahead,-then I would say that individual force, influences are brought to bear on men to make them which in Luther broke the institution that had gath- yield on this question. Individuals who come down to ered up in its folds the strength of ten centuries, -in- Washington with strong Anti-Slavery feelings, find this dividual force, which spoke with the authority of Hamp- out in a way that would astound even the most superden and Sydney,-that that force should again be stitions of you. Why, Senator Sumner himself has told brought to bear. We should gather together, every me that the influence was so great that he had no idea man that looks upon hostility to wrong as a more sacred of it. The way in which Southern men would slip their duty than anything else; who respects nothing, how- bands in the arm, and walk along, and beg whoever it ever venerable, or strong, or wealthy, even though it is not to waste his tremendous talents, his great learnbe a country, that stands in the way of their personal ing, his brilliant prospects, on this question !- (laughtruthfulness to rectitude. Let the men who thus feel ter) - to wait awhile, and see how it was ; - and the gather together with solemnity, in the fear of God, and, man would scarcely know where he was. I do believe tanding together, look into each other's eyes, and say, that there is a taste of blood that a man gets in office What is to be done? We must not do wrong. When we that is very corrupting. It is like the taste of blood ontribute to the treasury of the State, when we support that a tiger gets, which he never forgets. There is ar State government, we are supporting that which, as a power of corruption all around men at Washington, a State, supports a Union that is irretrievably given over to the spirit of slavery, beyond hope of redemption.' And I do believe, on my soul, that a few men, - stake. And these men all get their individual develop-I do believe that ten or twenty men, whose character is ment subject to those influences; and you depend on upright, who are faultless in their community, who them, and they depend on you; and unless each perhave friends who love them, who have influence, com- son, - which is my point, - unless each person, man or ing together as the Quakers of old, when they stood woman, feels that it is against his or her true developagainst war, and allowed their cattle and furniture to ment, that this thing should exist ; unless be or she be sold without stint, and would not consent to support takes it to heart, and tries to count the cost-how much it, - I believe that if such men would take that stand bitterness it has cost, how much it has injured the senow, their influence would be so strong that the whole renity of his or her soul, how much has been yielded, in world would come round to them. I believe that this youth, in manhood, or old age, to the influence of slavolcanic power never was resisted. I believe that al- very, he or she will not be properly sprung on this mest any one man, taking that position, would shake question; and we all need that now. We need that there the whole community; and that a large number of should be a great and noble enthusiasm rise within us men, a number that I know can be got taking that position, would be utterly irresistible. That is the action call us to fresh endeavors. I, for one, am willing to we will have to take at last. We will personally seeede. stand for ever, and give my heart and soul to all that (Cheers.) It is an awful fact, that this country has will be for the good of the poor down-trodden slave, as reached a condition that now writes this dreadful word well as for the good of the whites, and also of this counon every heart, as it comes with pain and blood from try. (Loud cheers.) I tell you, my friends, it is a Washington. With pen of flame, the Kansas iniquity dreadful thing that I see in the city of Boston. I am a writes on our hearts the word-We must not do wrong! stranger here, almost. Although I lived here a year or We must stand firm. The country verges on a danger so before I went to Washington, I really did not get at so awful that the imagination faints as she looks into the minds of the people. But I say, the first thing that the future, and calculates the events of coming years. strikes one is, that, with the exception of a few, the

> drostatic paradox will hold here, wherein the smallest but the idea of the immense practical evil that slavery tube of water balances a whole ocean. A inflicts on the country seems never to have affected single soul, resting firmly on the laws of God, by that them at all. That great evil has been feebly portrayed same hydrostatic power, balances the whole world. in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; some of its most deplorable results have been proclaimed by the poet Whittier; but I know that this view may not strike you as a true no tongue has yet been shaped which can truly write on one. We are very much given to routine, even at An- the hearts of the people, who do not know it and who ti-Slavery meetings. We are very much given to a have not seen it, lived in its midst, the awful evil of certain round of thoughts. We have them in theology, American slavery ; - (applause) - that vast domestic we have them in politics. But the facts of to-day call corruption, which led a noble woman of Virginia to once to us with a strong voice, which we cannot resist. say to me, with tears in her eyes, though she had de-When a great crime, hitherto unknown on the page of scended from a long line of slaveholding ancestors, ' No, history, rises up before us, such as this against Kansas, I never would have you compromise an inch with it! which gives a death-blow to all the hopes we had cher- (Cheers.) She had seen her children, her nephews, ished, it calls for a new treatment altogether, and that grow up in this atmosphere of slavery, with the a new force be exerted. There is need now that some great power which God has seen fit to make that instinew power shall dart down into our hearts,-that there tution capable of,-warmed out, like a nest of vipers, shall be an entirely new entrance of feeling and force by this intense heat,-this great evil, and she would not into the Anti-Slavery enterprise. We must look to it have me make terms with it. The evil of it! I would that we give our whole souls to the great fact that we tell you some things I know, but I cannot -- I cannot. must be personally true to ourselves; that we cannot All I can say is, that I have never met a man who hat be clogged and weighed down, as individuals, whose ed it too much. (Cheers.) I have never yet met the duty in this universe is to seek perfection, and the de- heart that throbbed too strongly against it. I wish to velopment of our minds and hearts, by this fact of sla- say, that if those who do think slavery wrong will exvery. Why, up here in the North, what do you get? amine this question more deeply, they will find that People at a distance see that ! like dry rot in wheat. they do not realize half its enormity. They will become, It comes forth in the North, and you see the highest and not men of one idea, but I think they will have a great noblest men falling before it. What men think on this many ideas they never had before. The more they exall. Yet slavery is not here, it is in the South; and they will find out its evil effects; and I do wish that yet, it is more of a test question here than at the South. there was some system by which Southern newspapers individuals. I say that no man can reach the individ- fuge of Oppression' in the Liberator does a great deal; ual development in this country that he would if he were but I know there is much that does not come to your free man. As long as one man is a slave in this land, ears. There is certainly a literature of modern times,

> we are all slaves, to a certain extent. We are all afraid -I think the most superior literature of this country,of something. We are all afraid of some prejudice, the biographies of fugitive slaves,—a literature which some feeling against color, or animosity of some kind—can never fail to have readers where there are any with great and grand exceptions, many of which I see hearts, - which show them to be the only heroes of the around me. We must feel that man cannot reach the age; glorious men, who have braved all things,-riektruest and noblest perfection under a system which, at ed life, property, health,-who have put themselves or the same time, produces slavery. Look down at the old the chase before the deadly bloodhounds, human and geological periods, and see those vast electric currents, canine,-and all for what? For this abstraction that -see those great monsters down there before man ap- we call liberly! (Applause.) If that is not heroism peared on this earth ;- and we decide that such things | what is heroism? That which is impassioned with s were there—the transition rock, the primeval forest, noble idea, that which forgets all fear of death, of any -could not, in their very nature, have produced man. | thing, a passion for liberty, a passion for the heart's Man was to be the associate of higher stages of vegeta- best love, that is heroism, and these are the men who

produced them. And I say, the presence of slavery I wish to say a word more in reference to such books here, the apathy I find even in Boston, when a Massa- I wish to say, that the people of the North should enter husetts Senator is struck down by a coward hand in more deeply into them, and then, when they have realthe Senate Chamber at Washington, the existence of ized what this oppression is personally, when they have that feeling which does not realize that slavery is wrong, put themselves in the same circumstances, they will be and really, in its heart, chuckles over this outrage, gin to feel what slavery is; and when they have asked -I say, all this indicates a sort of lower strata of life, a primitive formation, and such a primitive formation done their duty to God and man, if there were no slacannot produce the best men and women. So it is for very at the South, and how much easier it would be to each man to feel this, that in freeing the slave, he is do their duty to God and man if there were no slaves really freeing himself; he is asserting his own individ- at the South, they will begin to feel whether they are ual force, and his right to live in the country, and take nobler in the midst of slavery, whether they are really things on the same terms with all other men, and not men and women so long as there are slaves in the land have anything which is selfishly had, and which his I know that men are possible in this world, as well as reptiles and monsters. I know that there have been

men, and since Christ, who, by the way, was the first to feel conscious that he had such a manhood; but I do say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble on this subject; that they do not reach their proper height as men ; that they cannot, as long as they allow this great crime to exist in their midst, and with which they themselves are connected by political and moral ties; that the neglect of a single moment wherein a testimony might have been uttered that would have reached any ear, makes them less men, because they are not lovers of men, because they are not free, because they are indolent, and any such moment you may put down in your life as just as much lost as if in that moment you had been dead.

Let us, then, be true on this subject, whatever else fails. This is no time for apathy; this is no time for speaking any thing but that which is on our hearts. However much we may differ as regards methods, that is no fault. It is time for us to offer our opinions frankly, honestly-saying just what we feel. I have told you that I believe we are to take some new, decided action, now that we find that this country is irretrievably sold to the Slave Power for five centuries before us. I tell you, I am not willing to live in a country under these circumstances. (Cheers.) I know you may not feel so strongly as I do about it : but I am not willing, after what I know of slavery, to live in a country which is tied for five centuries, by the admission of Kansas, to the dominion of slavery.

It was on my mind when I left Washington to talk to

men on this subject; to see whether individual force could be brought to bear on this country, such as has been brought to bear in times past, and has shattered ancient churches, has raised up new powers of life, simply by men standing still and waiting for the salvation of God; standing still in the midst of all,-not helping the government or authority in any way,-but standing still and waiting the result, whether it be their martyrdom, their imprisonment, or whether it be to see the powers themselves trembling and crumbling to pieces before the simple truth which ages ago announced to the world,-what so few of us believe,-that under such circumstances, 'one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.' (Loud applause.)

Mr. BILLINGS, of Illinois, said that some call the idea of liberty an abstraction : but such it was not. It was not so with our puritan forefathers, nor with the Revolutionary patriots. They loved liberty, and labored establish it throughout the land; and they never would have compromised with slavery as they did could they have foreseen the fatal results. He also insisted that eminent humanity is eminent Cartilianity; and that this humanity or Christianity is destined to triumph over every thing opposed to it.

J. B. Swasey, Esq., on coming forward remarked that he happened to come from that dark corner of the State which is disgraced by being the residence of CALER Cushing! And in that place-Newburyport-multiudes of men are found to apologize for the late dastardly attack upon Mr. SUMNER! In Boston-in all parts of Massachusetts-we find numbers of the same kind of men. But he nevertheless recognized a power in the land,-it was to be found in the present Convention,from which the revolution that is to come may be sure-

#### WEDNESDAY.

ly augured.

Met according to adjournment, when, at 10 o'clock, he President, FRANCIS JACKSON, called the Convention to order, with quite a large number of persons present, considering the inclemency of the weather. The resolutions (17, 18 and 19,) relating to the call-

ng of a Convention of the Free States, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union, were read by request. Rev. Mr. Nute from Kansas, felt this morning as he had never felt before, that the Union is so prostituted to lavery that there is no longer any use of trying to save it. He did not at present, as he had endeavored to heretofore, believe that the enemies of freedom in Kansas are honest. But it was his deep conviction to-day that bad as Missouri ruffianism is, Boston ruffianism is still worse. He had been out to Kansas under the ane. pices of the American Unitarian Association, and he was going again, in a short time, with a pledge from them, that they would sustain him in his practical al. egiance to the cause of Freedom there, even though it led him to trample on United States Law. This was an encouraging indication ; and he made an earnest appeal o various classes to go with him, and aid in the establishment of liberty in Kansas.

S. S. Foster had thought that, at such a crisis as the resent, a new impulse would be given to the cause; out when he heard Mr. Phillips say on the platform yesterday, that the two words to be spoken now are, Sum-NER and KANSAS, he had felt a great sinking of his soul. But who is Charles Sumner, he asked, that this Society should espouse his quarrels with the slaveholders? He has long stood by and seen the rights of the millions of slaves stricken down, but what has he done? He has been striking hands with villains, and aiding them in their works of iniquity. This point Mr. Foster enlarged upon in his peculiar manner, amidst demonstrations of approving and disapproving feeling; many asking him uestions upon the subject, and he answering them, such to the interest, if not to the conviction of the audience which had now got to be large. The mission of true anti-slavery is, he insisted, to separate the wheat but the danger now is, that we shall scept the chaff as wheat. He felt it, therefore, to be his first duty to make it every where realized that the Free oil movement and the Kansas movement are unable to bring salvation to the country. No State in the Union, he said, had passed such barbarous laws against the lack man as Kansas has passed. He contended earnstly, therefore, that the slave can be freed only over the ruins of the American Union; and the men at Washngton who do not want to get caned for any free speech here, ought to leave the company of villains, and come

Mr. PHILLIPS asked Mr. Foster if he would have anked Gov. Chase of Ohio, if he had put himself at he head of the military and rescued Margaret Garner ? Mr. Foster answering in the affirmative, Mr. Phillips aid that he had simply thanked Mr. Sumner for doing n unmixedly good act.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said that Gov. Chase might have rescued Margaret Garner without going outside of the Union—that he could have constitutionally done it. Mr. Fosten said, let Charles Sumner take the highst ground possible, and he would become the ma

men; but as long as he should remain in his present position, he could do little or nothing. Mr. F. closed his speech by offering the following resolution :-

Resolved. That the first and most important duty of this Convention, at the present time, is, to convince the entire community that the anti-slavery of any and every political party which acknowledges allegiance and promises support to the Federal Government, is necessarily tainted and spurious; and the nearer its resem blance to the genuine, the more injurious is it to the cause of freedom, because the more likely to deceive and mislead the honest and true-hearted.

Mr. May made a brief and earnest appeal to th friends of the cause for contribution and pledges.

CHARLES L. REMOND suggested that contributions and pledges should be made in reference to the fact that the American Anti-Slavery Society contemplates the holding of one hundred conventions in the course of the year. He also made some very earnest and eloquent remarks upon the importance of keeping the old antislavery movement pure and uncompromising. He cared nothing for the question of Kansas, but stood on the ground of impartial and universal liberty. He closed by objecting to so much being said on the anti-slavery platform in eulogy of the Anglo-Saxon race, in distinct tion from all other races. He referred to Theodore Par ker's speaking of himself and others as Africans. He did not care for the matter on his own account, but he believed the Anglo-Saxon race was not the superior race often represented to be, and he thought it time that this constant claim of its superiority should be backed up by some proof that it has common humanity and decency

WENDELL PHILLIPS urged the importance of liberal contributions and pledges at this crisis, on the ground that the old Anti-Slavery movement is to make the chief efficient use of the outrages of Slavery in Kaneas, and upon Charles Sumner and others at Washington that can be made during the coming year. The Free Soilers have got to create a President-we a right pub-

Mr. Phillips, in some criticisms upon Mr. Foster's speech, said that he considered the Free Soil Party one of the greatest obstacles in the way of Liberty-not the greatest-but when a man sets his face in the right direction, he does one good act, and he would honor him and thought we all should. Theodore Parker acknowledges the merits of Henry Ward Beecher fifty times where orthodox timidity dares return the compliment once.

ABBY KELLY FOSTER wanted to make a suggestion i reference to the honesty of some Free Soil leaders. Giddings and Wilson acknowledge, she said, our principles. but will not live by them. They may be politically honest, but they are not honest in a Christian sense.

Mr. PHILLIPS said of Henry Ward Beecher, that he believed him honest in keeping with his present position; and though he did not come to us, it was enough to prove him an honest Anti-Slavery man that he was the object of pro-slavery hatred throughout the land. So of Mr. Giddings and Henry Wilson.

Mr. GARRISON said the liberty of speech is a grea thing and a valuable right; but it was not yet fully secured. Those who came to our meetings should come prepared to hear any one utter his honest convictions He wished that those who had manifested their indignation at Mr. Remond for applying an odious epithet to Washington-which he himself did not think an appropriate one-would turn some of their indignation towards Edward Everett, the recreant eulogist, for a base end, of Washington. In relation to Kansas, and in reply to some things from Mr. Nute, Mr. Garrison contended that here and not there is the work of Anti-Slavery ; for as long as we have such a North, politically and religiously, as we now have, there is no hope for Kansas nor for the Slave, excepting through the moral and religious education of the people.

S. S. FOSTER thought, in relation to Charles Sumne that we must be impartial in the application of our rebukes to all parties, and that Mr. Sumner must not, therefore, be spared, standing as he does in union with slaveholders. He thought that all intelligent supporters of the Government are dishonest men, and pught to be rebuked and denounced. Henry Ward Beecher, he said, had received too much eulogy on this platform ; he was too pure and good to stand on the platform with Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, but be could sit in religious association with Presbyterian cradle plunderers ! So of the other leading Free Soilers. Adjourned to meet in the Mejonaon, at quarter to 3

AFTERNOON. Met at the Meionaon, according to ad-

journment. Effingham L. Capron, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolutions :-

toil-worn co-laborer in the anti-slavery field, PARKER Pittageny, and to his beloved family, our warmest congratulations on his safe arrival home, with renovated health, after a protracted absence in Europe ; that we remember with admiration and gratitude the invalnable services he has performed in behalf of that cause. through years of evil report, popular odium, and universal proscription, in the spirit of entire self-sacrifice and quenchless devotion, at the less of reputation and the peril of life; that we rejoice to know that, during his sojourn abroad, notwithstanding his dangerous il ness, he was enabled to do much towards enlightening the minds and affecting the hearts of British philanthropists, on the subject of American slavery, thus securing their future co-operation with us to extirpate this awful curse, by their religious testimonies and pecuniary offerings; that we trust he will be permitted to see the chain of every slave broken, before being called to a higher and nobler sphere, and to mingle his voice in the song of a jubilee more glorious than has ever yet been proclaimed in any land, among any people.

Resolved, That we recognize, with the liveliest em tions of gratitude, the unremitted attention and unwearied kindness of our transatlantic friends towards Mr. PILLSBURY, as the faithful representative of the manacled slave, from the hour of his landing to that of his leaving their hospitable shores; and we beg them to accept this brief expression of our feeling as but the feeblest token of what, on the score of indebtedness, we cannot find words adequately to express.

Mr. SWAZEY, in speaking of Charles Sumner, said h had never been a great admirer of the distinguished Senator : but in regard to his recent services and present suffering, he gave him his hearty approval and admiration. He thought, however, that our Society ought to be cautious how it endorsed the leaders of the Republican Party, or the Party itself; approving them, indeed, for any good acts, and reproving them for any bad acts, but discriminatingly.

CHAS. C. BURLEIGH stated that he had just heard gratifying piece of intelligence. Edward Everett had recently received an invitation from the Connectic Legislature, to deliver before it his lecture on Washington. But on hearing that Mr. Everett had refused to speak at the late indignation meeting at Faneuil Hall, the Legislature had withdrawn that invitation The announcement of this fact called out much ap

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, of Ohio, spoke with satisfaction of the variety of talent and methods found on our Anti-Slavery platform, believing it advantageous to the cause. He also spoke of the general aspects of the cause, as illustrated in the case of Kansas. He believ. ed the design of the Slave Power to be to put down dis cussion on the floor of Congress, and he thought it would succeed, unless the North can be aroused mor thoroughly than ever before. He likewise gave an in teresting account of the condition of Uhio, in reference Anti-Slavery question, and of the position Gov. Chase and the Republican Party there. Mr. R concluded by insisting that the only practical method of abolition is that of ' No Union with Slaveholders, and, he would add, 'Union with the Slaves.'

mentioning the case of Mr. Summer and the rumor that pronounced upon Mr. Summer. Mr. Wilson has been challenged to a duel at Washing-ton by Brooks, of South Carolina, and Mr. Wade, of o'clock. Ohio, by Toombs, of Georgia.

Adjourned to meet at the Melodeon, on Thursday, at

THURSDAY.

Met at the Melodeon, when, at 10 o'clock, the Pres. the following resolution : ident called the Convention to order. A large audience | Resolved, That in the death of our venerated friend. in attendance.

tion of Religion and the Church to slavery, and enlarged upon the idea that the substance of Christianity is jus- imperatively requires the immediate emancipation man of every Christian profession, however different their creeds, to be an active friend of humanity in every dence of their Christianity.

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER said it was not her purpose or expectation, on leaving home, to speak at the Conven- Resolved, That in the departure from this life of Jon tion : but she wished to revive a discussion of yesterday, which did not seem to her to be clearly settled. red since our last annual New England Convention. The New England Convention, she said, was the place the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends ha of all others to get at the truth, which is to be carried been called to meet with no common loss : for, thoug out into practical life. She referred to Mr. Remond's ' the good die not,' and we feel that he yet speaks to us application of an opprobrious epithet to Washington, and to all who knew him, and who may still be reached ears. But when she considered Gen. Washington's re- spirit and disinterested life, -yet, we miss his presen lation to slavery, and remembered the case of the fugi- with his counsel, his animating example, in our cor tive woman particularly who fled from his service to test with 'American Slavery, that sum of all villanies New Hampshire, she thought the idolatry of the man To his memory we offer this tribute of our profound re ought to be stricken down.

hoped all personalities would be avoided; but, above its behalf, to the value of his continued and various all, it was important that our uncompromising posi- forts to promote it, on both sides of the Atlantic, w tion should be maintained. We love, she said, our feel it both a duty and a high privilege to bear our ear Free Soil friends, and in various ways they manifest nest and united testimony. Grateful to God that w their friendship for us; but we owe them a duly to enjoyed so long the benefit of his wise, judicious rebake them, when they compromise the truth. She hearty co-operation, we desire to be animated by his spoke most impressively of the disagreeableness of this memory to a renewed consecration of our best power duty, and of the sacrifices she and her husband often to that high cause of Humanity which he loved so well had to make in discharging it, but this was the special WM. WELLS BROWN, who had been intimately ac had to make in discarring in the mass of they must follow quainted with Mr. Estlin in England, came forward to it faithfully. It was a most noble and Christian speech, speak to the above resolution, which he did in an ap worthy the glorious spirit of the woman, always illus- propriate manner. He also spoke of the discussitrated, as it is, by her pure and martyr-like life.

time to criticise Charles Sumner, as some had criticised parties were right, presenting different phases of the him on this platform. He spoke in eulogy of Mr. Sumsame great subject. It was important, he thought, that ner, and the Republican party, as based on the Consti- advantage should be taken of the sympathies flowing tution of the United States, and urged a union of all out every where for Mr. Sumner, and infuse into the anti-slavery parties.

down-there is no other foundation to build upon. The brief exposure of the pro-slavery character of Amer South are united to a man on slavery ; at the North all can religion, and a fitting rebuke and condemnatio the great political and religious parties are on the same of it. the Republican party, as under the Constitution Mr. PILLSBURY also spoke briefly to the resoluti of the United States, is implicated in the support of sla- concerning Mr. Estlin; and said that the probability very like the rest. But to succeed, there is an absolute is, that, ere another year shall pass away, another em necessity of abolitionists being uncompromising on the inent friend of the slave and of our cause would be nun ground of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

importance of the dissolution of the Union question, and tude. Mr. P. adverted to the discussion which had also of the importance of practical operations on that taken place with reference to Mr. Sumner and the Re-

was conscious that he stood almost alone in the position he had taken in reference to the Free Soil party, and points, he nevertheless sympathized mostly with Mr ne had taken in reference to the Free Soil party, and against the unmatched elequence of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, and their well-carned influence. But he must be true to his own judgment and conscience. He thought the present the true time to criticise Mr. Sumner, because he is, as never before, the idol of New Sumner, because he is, as never before, the idol of New slavery. The anti-slavery recommendation mostly with Mr. and Mrs. Foster, as he thought would be the case with most of the lecturing agents. And as for himself, he must join issue with the Republican party as long as it stood where it always has stood, considering it, as he did, a great obstacle in the way of uncompromising anti-slavery. The anti-slavery recommendation of the stood with Mr. England.

our anti-slavery movement ; and the question is, whether we have been making him a dangerous man.

greater obstacle to that movement.

bility is, therefore, that we shall soon be delivered from tion on the part of abolitionists what we have been told is the greatest obstacle to our Mr. PHILLIPS briefly reviewed the proceedings of the

the hall in every part.

brief account of a recent visit to the South ; and he own. ing his views of slavery. He came home, he said, sat- ical character. isfied that the Union was worth nothing to any North- Mr. Garrison made a correction of some statemen ern man, and he went therefore for its immediate disso- made by Mr. Parker, who spoke of the non-voting abo-

Mr. Sumner and the Republican Party. He said he but this was an error, as very few of them were non had none but kind feelings towards Mr. Sumner, and he resistants, but they refused to vote, on the ground of believed that Mr. S. had been the very best Abolitionist moral consistency and as a matter of consistency, be he could be under the Government. Still, it was his cause of the pro-slavery features of the U. S. Constitu duty to criticise him, for in his present position he in- tion. They rejected the ballot which they believed t evitably drew off even some of the tried and true of our be stained with the blood of the slave. If Mr. Parker Anti-Slavery platform. He went into a thorough ex- as a religious and ethical teacher, and as the friend o position of Mr. Sumner's position, showing that he the anti-slavery cause, could show them their error, o stood, with other supporters of the Union, on the necks how they could vote without compromising their prin of four millions of human beings-a thankless work to ciples, they would be greatly obliged to him. But he him, he said, but a necessary one to the cause. Mr. F. had not attempted to meet their difficulties. himself was not in favor of the Northern States with- Mr. G. then presented the following resolution :drawing from the Southern; but he was in favor of Resolved, That this Convention desires to express it

Mr. PHILLIPS replied, that according to Mr. Foster's be consistent with it, we ought to pray for the advent to assist every progressive movement. of Griers, and Jeffrieses, and Kanes, as a protection against good men not wholly right. But Mr. Phillips of the cause were then adopted by a una repudiated this whole philosophy as absurd; and denied The resolution of welcome to Parker Pillsbury we also that he had endorsed the Republican Party or Mr. then unanimously voted. Sumner as an Abolitionist. Mr. Sumner's position in the Mrs. A. K. Foster having expressed her sense of duty slaveholding Judge of Mississippi, who, amidst his long adopted with but a few dissentient voices. career of service to slavery, gave one manly and right- The resolution offered by Stephen S. Foster to the truth, the more he would honor them ; believing May, Jr., indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Fortra complained that he had not been met by then adopted, nem. con.; and the Convention then ad Mr. Phillips with fairness ; but as it was suggested by journed, sine die, after one of the most interesting and Mr. Garrison and others that he had occupied much exciting series of meetings ever held in the city of Bo time in the discussion, he took his seat.

Mrs. A. K. Fosten thought the cause of Freedom demanded that Mr. Foster should reply to Mr. Phillips, tions, as reported by the Finance Committee, was as she considered that he had been misrepresented.

CHAS. C. BURLEIGH and SAMUEL MAY, Jr., hoped that \$1280,50. Mr. Foster would proceed with his remarks, that there might be no appearance even of restricting his free-

[The series of Resolutions before the Committee was Mr. Forum took the platform to correct some of Mr. called for and read by Mr. May, one of the Secretaries.] Phillips's misconceptions and misstatements, and occur Throndone Parken spoke briefly of past aggressions pied some fifteen minutes in doing so. He greatly de of the Slave Power, and of its recent manifestations, plored the calogies that Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison Adjourned to meet at the Meionson at half-past

Evening. Met at the Meionson ; Edmund Quine in the chair, who called the meeting to order at half

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, offer

past 7 o'clock.

John Rogens, of this city, the anti-slavery cause ha J. J. Locke made some general remarks on the rela- lost an early, unfaltering and devoted supporter; on whose idea of genuine evangelical religion was, that tice, kindness, beneficence, humanity—the prominent every bondman, and that no compromise is to be made idea set forth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, the let- with sin, under any circumstances; and to whom the ter and spirit of which, he contended, oblige every ory of 'infidelity' against the faithful friends of the oppressed, by a spurious orthodoxy, was the best evi

Mr. May, on behalf of the Business Committee, of fered the following resolution :

BISHOP ESTLIN, of Bristol, (Eng.) - which event occu which, she confessed, grated harshly upon her own by his writings, and by the manly power of his seren spect and admiration. To his hearty espousal of the As to the discussion of the Pree Soll question, she cause of the oppressed, to his unremitting sacrifices in

which had taken place during the various sessions of Rev. GARDNER DEAN of \_\_\_\_ thought it a poor the Convention, and expressed his conviction that both the light and truth of our uncompromising movement Mr. Garrison urged the point that, unless we base These sympathies, he said, would be worth nothing ur anti-slavery movement upon principle, we must go year hence, unless rightly directed. He closed by

bered with the dead-namely, HARRIET MARTINEAU, of MARIUS R. Robinson spoke ably and earnestly of the whom he spoke with the deepest reverence and gratipublicans; and though he thought the hearts of each STEPHEN S. FOSTER said that in rising to speak, he party in that discussion were in the right place, and that they looked at the subject from different stand-The anti-slavery movement which he repre-Mr. Garrison said Mr. Sumner was the product of the age, out of which salvation must come. sented, he considered the great Christian movement

Mr. Garrison wanted it distinctly understood tha no endorsement of Mr. Sumner as an Abolitionist, or of Mr. Foster thought that Mr. Sumner is a dangerous the Republican party, had been attempted, or thought man to the anti-slavery cause, and more dangerous at of, by any in the Convention; but only a Just con present than at any time before. He insisted, too, that mendation of Mr. Sumner for his late noble speech is if our movement had made Mr. Sumner a better man the Senate, and the manly stand that he is maintainthan he was ten years ago, it had thereby made him a ing in opposition to the Slave Power, - as the resolution reater obstacle to that movement.

Mr. Garrison announced that a telegraphic despatch

These remarks Mr. Garrison followed with an interfrom Washington, just received, represents Mr. Sum- esting address on the general aspects of the cause, its ner in an increasingly critical condition, and the proba- world-wide bearings, and the importance of zealous ac-

Mr. Forren objected to such an allusion to his own abolitionists the duties of the hour. His speech was reference to Mr. Sumner. Adjourned to quarter to 3 brief, but of great interest and elequence. His rebuke so-Sam Adams did not think so. My friend, Mr. Foss, willing to struggle for a broken reed. of Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop, for their heartless refusal to stand in the Paneuil Hall meeting, AFTERNOON. Jehiel Claffin, one of the Vice-Presi- and denounce the outrage which has been done alike to lents, in the Chair. An immense audience thronged Massachusetts and to her noble Senator, was as pointed and severe as it was deserved; and the crowder Mr. Downes, of Bradford, took the platform to give dience accepted every word of it, and made it their

affirmed that he never met such ruffianly and brutal THEODORE PARKER followed Mr. Phillips, commend men any where as he met there. Whilst there, he him- ing the platform of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery So self was often in danger of his life, being several times ciety as the freest and highest in the United States ; but threatened with assassination, for incidentally express- expressing his dissent from its non-voting and non-polit-

litionists as non-resistants, and as absenting themselves S. S. Foster resumed the discussion in reference to from the polls on account of their peace principles

uniting with the slaves, as Caseius M. Clay proposed, as against their masters. And let those who believe in this country, and of universal freedom, has sustainusing the sword, use it, for such as those can do nothed, since its last anniversary, by the death of the noble WILLIAM H. ASHURST, of England, whose home was the refuge of the outlawed friends of freedom in the old philosophy, there could not be a good idea going around world, ever open to the anti-slavery advocates from the world, unless it came from the Garrisonians. To America, and whose heart and hand were always ready

The three resolutions relating to the departe | friends

U. S. Government, he himself had always criticised, as to vote against the resolutions respecting Mr. Sumner had Mr. Garrison ; but he would be ever ready to ren- it was decided to take the vote upon those resolution der honor to every man for a good act-even to the separately; and, being taken, the resolutions were

motion of Charles C. Burleigh, seconded by Samue that the better they are, the most useful they must be. The remaining resolutions before the Convention

> The entire amount of donations and cash collect \$636; of pledges, payable during the year ensuing

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. WILLIAM H. FISH, SANUEL MAY, JR., AARON M. POWELL,

SPEECH OP WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., Anglo-Saxon blood. Where is it? Where will you find Tuesday Afternoon, May 27, 1856.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I do not know that I continue to hold it. I only know graves in the soil that honest men once trod. But I to-day that me may live honest men, and find decent a perfect smothering of public feeling by the material can also show you a man of that despised race that you time. (Cheers.) But whether we shall live to see it, or whether this frame of government shall ever result is, I think, a question of considerable doubt. Look at men who went to Faneuil Hall, the other night, were bayonetted there; and even that crowded hall did not hold the property and respectability of Boston. A few mass ; but the wealth, the fashion, what alls itself the intellect, the governing element in Boston, the few scores of men that make up Boston when she is named throughout the Union, were not there. ' Hear, hear.') The mass of them do not care enough about these recent outrages to come out of their houses, or utter a word about them. Let the pettiest despot thrown in the street of an equal power, and the government of that power not atone for it, and the pettiest despot of the smallest pocket-handkerchief-sized State would recall its ambassador. The Senators of the United States are the ambassadors of sovereign States,-the representatives of States by their sovereignty. Massachusetts, by her ambassador, speaks one of the noblest words she ever yet spoke in the national councils, and is struck down on the floor of Congress by a brutal rufflanism which never showed itself before north of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi. You hear of hardly a whisper from the men of Massachusetts, of calling him and Mr. Wilson home. We send home Mr. Crampton for a violation of etiquette; we talk of calling the French government timidity at Washington that bade them bury their rision to see their fortifications; we nearly fell into ment in the next Presidential canvass. Yes, as a war with Spain for an insult to that maddest of all friend said, if the angel Gabriel were made Governor Don Quixotes, Mr. Soulé. By the way, in my opinion to-day, he would fold his wings, and intrigue for the the noble Don is much wronged by these comparisons of Butler and others to him. But when the ambas- of a political calculation of chances that made the emisador of Massachusetts is beaten in his seat, in the grants from the North lay down their arms under the discharge of his duty, where is the sovereignty of walls of Lawrence. I do not believe it was want of Massachusetts? Nobody thinks of it. I do not look upon this thing as an anti slavery mat- put its foot on that last effort to defend the right of lit

legislative assembly, a man may speak words that would pose, our policy, ought to be, from this time forth, to subject him to indictment, if spoken elsewhere, and he deny the existence of constitutional government in this cannot be touched-it is a sacred spot. You would country. (Loud applause.) It is a magnificent conancy, if you listened to the criticisms of some presees on spiracy against justice. It is the plot of assassins - it that speech, that Mr. Summer was bound, on the floor is not a government. It is a cheat-not a government. of the Senate, by the etiquette of the drawing-room. The only thing that Massachusetts has to do to-day, it They do not seem to recollect, that by a liberty we seems to me, is to call home our delegates and Senators have wrought out by a struggle of ten hundred years, and wait. If Mr. Toombs and Mr. Pierce, and the othhe was permitted to criticise and arraign individual er men who stood by and saw a brother Senator beaten character, and every thing else, by the privilege of his almost to death without lifting a hand in his defenplace. Nobody dreams of it. We talk about it as if and endorsed it, are fit to sit in that 'Chamber of Assasit was a matter between individuals. I say, this ignorance is the first thing that strikes me. These men do mous enough to sit there with them. (Loud cheers.) not know enough to be freemen. When Waddy Thomp- There are but two words to be uttered at our meeti son told John Quincy Adams, that if he uttered in to-day-one is 'Kansas,' the other, 'Sumner.' They what said the old sage? 'Go back to South Carolina, whole Anti-Slavery cause at the present mom It was only meddling with a tea-cup that made the least, he said so while there was a Kansas; but now Revolution-a mere trifle! John Hancock did not think she is gone, he may rise to a higher thought, and be unthinks slavery has not left us any worse than we were.

tance. Thirty more years rolled on. My friend thinks the Union was broken to pieces?

strength to come there at all. Massachusetts! why, in that Senate Chamber! I sympathize with himere more significant than those who did.

Has slavery done nothing ? I respond to the remark of

At the New England Anti-Slavery Concention, its type? What are we pale faces now doing for liberty, comparable with this race we look down upon, and say could never have been free? I could show you a The last speaker expressed his confidence that there man in the streets of Boston, who draws his blood from was feeling and principle enough in Massachusetts to noble and truth-speaking men, on whose heart has been save the State in this crisis. I used to hold that faith; who has drunk deep of the fountains of classic inspiration, and whom Massa busetts delights to honor. He is do not know, I do not yet believe, that there is a public sentiment about us enough to save in our day this exsentiment about us enough to save in our day this ex-periment of civil government. It seems to me there is tramples down all others in its haughty defiance of such a dense ignorance of the very first principles of all blood but its own. Do not say he is an exception. constitutional liberty; such an intense indifference, such He is a type of thousands in this Commonwealth. But I tterests of the Commonwealth, that I do not see how call so feeble and timid, who placed himself, croucha reasonable man can indulge much hope God reigns, and therefore slavery will go to pieces in his own good around me, and frame me a box of the same size!' and the trembling hand of the workman could hardly hold in the triumph of free principles, and what may be the chalk by which he was to measure a living grave. And when it was completed, he was placed inside truly called constitutional government in this country. And when it was competed, by truly called constitutional government in this country, with no room to move, with no air to breathe, and so the present tone of public feeling in this city. The -in the sons of the college and the pulpit, or in Box Brown, whose courage God wrote on his heart, when he inspired him with that sublime venture for liberty or death? Milk Street did not dare go down to Faneuil Hall, for fear grass would grow on the pavement ; but you can go down to a store in another part of the city, and see a man belonging to this same despised race, who, when a fugitive asked shelter beneath his roof, took him in. It was not much ;-only a few thouse dollars, only the earnings of a short life of liberty, only the yawning prison, only starvation before him. Milk Street cowers, with its hundreds of thousands and its half millions, at the distant possibility of loss; but the black man took his brother in, put him into his room locked the door, and for forty-eight hours, the police the white police of Boston, howled around him-howled, thank God, in vain ; he is in Canada. (Loud cheers.) When you talk of the heroism of the Anglo-Saxon, and the want of courage in the black man, match these two among the merchants and statesmen of Boston !

I say, the heroism of the present hour is not in our race ; if it had been, Lawrence had not been in ashes to-day. I do not blame the men of Lawrence ; I believe they had hearts as well as rifles. It was the political account for not allowing our military commis- fles and submit, rather than risk an unmanageable elecourage. But when they laid them down, when slavery ter merely. The primal principle of constitutional lib. erty for the territories, it seems to me she sealed, as my erly, where is it? You all know, that on the floor of a friend Conway thinks, the fate of the Union. Our pur-

South Carolina what he had just said in the House of embrace the whole subject, they cover the whole ground. Representatives at Washington, he would be indicted. In the significance of these two facts is wrapped up the and get somebody to teach you the first principles of cannot stop to criticise Mr. Sumner. I only wish that constitutional law.' And when Mr. Thompson repeated the assertion, Mr. Adams replied—' Thank God, on their Presidential banner, carry it, and see how much then, I was not born in South Carolina !' And when of a North it would create in the next Presidential con-Mr. Pickens, anxious for the honor of his State, follow- test. There would be almost a principle in that ; or, if ed Mr. Thompson, and said it was not so, that South not a principle, there would be at least a man. (Loud Carolina had no such law, 'It is a matter of no sort of cheers.) But Mr. Fremont-what claims has he upon consequence,' said Adams, with a beautifully insolent the friends of freedom? Our friend Theodore Parker indifference, 'whether she has or not.' (Applause.) He says very truly, he has got a good wife. Well, if all of knew enough to know, that written on the front of all us who have good wives are to be put up for President, constitutional history was the right of any man, stand- there will be a great many candidates. (Laughter.) ng inside of a deliberative assembly, to say any We used to hear of the goodness of Judge McLean's thing. Ignorance is the first element of my complaint, wife, and he made more pro-slavery law on the bench at this time, and consummate indifference is the other. Men say, 'O, it is only one man beaten, it is only his wife. And now Mr. Giddings says he is ready t one ruffian more added to the catalogue.' I know it. write on his banner even the name of McLean! At

There are but two things, Mr. Chairman, for us now I should like to take a lantern, and go through the to do. If Massachusetts chooses to walk on her downstreets of Boston, like the old philosopher, and try to ward way, we can be honest men at least; we can live find something that looks like Sam Adams, now when and die rebellious slaves, at least. We can at least perthe Massachusetts Senator has been beaten down in his petuate a protest. Small as we are, we are large enough seat, and men living on her soil find apologies for the for a link in the great chain of individual protests deed. Not changed us! Why, when a Constitution against wrong. In history, Mr. President, before the was arranged, a Convention was sitting in a neighboring struggle for liberty spreads out into the greatness of a hall that passed the statute of 1787, and consecrated to Huss or a Luther, you trace it in the small trickling liberty all the territories of the United States. That rill of Switzerland and the South of France, back to was the touchstone of public sentiment in 1787. The babe 'Constitution' is to be baptized: the fount is water, and the name is 'Liberty.' Thirty odd years roll- when nobler sons than these who use the sacred soil of the ed away ; we arrive at a great struggle in the midst of Puritans only to make money, who doubtless reg ret that the next generation—the Missouri Compromise question the very rock of Plymouth was not gold, that they could is to be decided. How strong is slavery now? What coin it into guineas, -when they are gone, and a better are her pretensions? How strong is the opposition? race stand in their place, they will be glad to trace After two years of what was really a gallant fight, that back to the Pilgrims, through us, the line that constirred the Northern mind to its depths, all that nects them in an ever-living protest against the tyranny the North could save was the Northern half. Otis, the of an infamous State. That is one thing we can do. Do old Federalist, the Republicans, the Democrats, the not belittle it. It is a great thing to do, to keep alive a men who, whether sincere or not, fought as if they protest. It is a great thing to be allowed to stand and were sincere, fought well for twenty-four months, and wait. It is a great thing to-day-I put it to you. Disall they could save, with the public opinion of the unionists, is it not ?- is it not a great thing to be able North behind them, was one half. That was what sla- to lay your hands on your hearts, and believe that while very had done up to 1819. She had pressed up from other men have mistaken the time, turned to politics the Gulf, until she placed her foot on the Northern or to compromise, we, at least, have seen the end from summit of Missouri, and claimed to stand there. Beaten the beginning, and been aware that this Union never back, utterly foiled, the North yielded in sullen reluc- was to be saved, that Liberty would never be safe till

stronger. Slavery has passed that There is another thing we can do, every one of us. limit. She has planted her victorious standard amid We can stir up Massachusetts to a state of public opin the blood and ashes of Lawrence, and to-day the demon babe you call the Union is baptized in blood, and Congress. That is the first thing for us to do. It is her name is - Slave! (Cheers.) Far North as the the direct legal etiquette of our position. What of there stars and stripes can wave, the slave goes in the hands idlers that nobody hears from? Mr. Chairman, who of his master. This is where we are to-day—all na- are the Massachusetts delegation in the House of Repretional territory open to slavery! Such is the work of sentatives? Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, moves to expel Brooks, somebody else seconds him, others take Anti-slavery as strong as in 1787? Where are the part in the debate. There is not a Massachusetts man nen, the Northerners, the Southerners, that voted for heard. So far as I have watched the debates, there has the statute of 1787? If it had merely gained territory, not a Massachusetts man been heard except Mr. Wilson, I would not hate one jot or tittle of hope. Land! we and every body knows he would be found in the right could clutch it back again ; it is the hearts she has eaten place. (Loud applause.) I sympathize with HENRY out. There are no men, or but very few, left in Mas- Wilson. My heart is sad for him to-day, as I know sachusetts. When Massachusetts rose up to make his heart is sad. O, if this Brooks had only not known that feeblest of all feeble protests made in Fancuil him so well! (Applause.) If he had only suspected Hall the other night, the most marked thing about him to be a non-resistant for five minutes! (Renewed that meeting is not the milk-and-water that was cheers.) How readily would Wilson have given ten there, it is the feebler milk-and-water that had not years of common life to have been five minutes longer thas almost a brother name, a synonym, a twin, when do you. (Applause.) His voice was heard; heard you talk of civil liberty. That name is WINTHROP! so that we could all say Amen to it. But where were Where was he, when something could be done for the the rest of the delegation? Where was the man who State whose limits his ancestor measured out and inau- makes Fancuil Hall ring with his anti-slavery elogurated its history? The men that dare not come-they quence? I should like to hear the rustling skirts of Burlingame, as he shakes them against the contact of miscreant Brooks. (Great obsering.) What is the my noble friend from Washington, (Mr. Conway,) eloquence that flashes only in the calm air of youthat the heroism of the day is among the slaves. Your der venerable hall, and holds its peace in the hot, Saxon blood — it is water? We boast our pluck; we electrical atmosphere of the Capitol? Call them home, claim kindred with England, and boast the pluck of if only for decency's sake. (Cheers.) We will no

blame silence yet, but I am anxious to let them know blame silence yet, and them home, if only to reng. nize that there is a Massachusetts. Mr. nize that there is a famouil Hall, 'We will prove that there is a Massachusetts as well as a Federal Green, ment.' Do it! How? Do it as the Emperor of the ment. Do it : Move insulted his ambassador; or the French would, if you insulted hers. Do it as the pety governments of Italy or Germany would. Call then home. Keep them here until proper apologies are make Their votes are not needed. The best speech any one of them will ever make will be when he returns to sachusetts Legislature, and says-'Mr. Presi here, because, at present, there is nothing for us to be How soon do you suppose the rele graph would follow them with a vote expelling Brooks Just as soon as electricity could bring it. How soo, it that were not the case, and they stayed here six month would some effort be made towards the final settlement of the slave question, or for the dissolution of the E of the slave question.

I acknowledge that the moment you put that finding I acknowledge that the Union of the States, the moment is dig out from its forgotten armory this weapon of the sovereignty of the States, the moment M plants herself where South Carolina once plants be self, she checkmates the Union,—it risks the fibre. h better be risked in the day when ten slave States shift be added to the Union by a single law. What we need to-day is to crease this public seed. ment. The clergymen at Springfield say-what do you

suppose they say? The Orthodox clergy of the valey

of the Connecticut, the gods of the river are together,

Olympus nods, and what is the verdict? The saveli

was totally uncalled for '! (Laughter.) Why, the

Washington Intelligencer did better than that, for it said it was 'a painful occurrence,' That is the eig. necked Puritanism of Massachusetts! Those are the old rural districts,' which have not been corrupted by the gold of commerce. These are the men so far reavel from a Curtis, that they do not even know him by sight. They have grown up in primitive innocence of slave shackles, never looking on a fugitive slave except abea he lived where he chooses to live. They have just to much anti-slavery as that ; just so much underst of the crisis in which we are placed! What you was is to take such men and send them to school: The tion is on them, but they do not know it. Liberty may be gone for a century before you wake up to know it is gone. There are men down in State street who will be in their graves a century before their sons, if they he like them, will know that liberty is gone. I know it is but a slight thing-it does not take but a square in the newspaper; but it is the wreck of constitutional liberty. If Massachusetts stands the events of this week, there is nothing she will not stand You may take Bunker Hill down stone by stone,- you may throw even the Daily Advertiser into the dock. you may sell slaves in State street, if Massachuseits ca submit to what is done to-day. If public opinion, with uncontrollable impulse, does not shut its eyes to wist Mr. Summer said, and assert, 'We don't care what he said,' insisting that the man who has violated the very heart of Massachusetts shall no longer enter the Capitol, she will submit to any thing. I know South Carolina would send him back in twenty-four hours. The State that exiled Mr. Hoar by statute, that actually kickel the Commonwealth out of her limits by an enacted law, knows how hitherto she has been able to treat Massachusetts. This is no beginning. She burs us she wheedles us, or she whips us, one or the other, always. In years gone by, we never had men at Washington brave and true enough to speak the truth ; now we have got the men there, but they speak at the risk of areas sination. That is the Union! South Carolina styr to us, practically, 'Send me Everett,-a moon, that reflects myself. (Cheers.) Send me Webster, that crawls at the dietate of some Southern caucus.' (Cheers, and some hisses.) O, there is no use in hissing! Go to Faneuil Hall, and as you look down on the five thousast impatient men that feel the crisis, but know not what is do, look upon the platform, and behind it, see Mephistophiles !- see that pictured brow that betrayed Mamchusetts,-that lowers still over Faneuil Hall,-hanns it, like a perturbed spirit. I hope to live to see the day when there shall be fanaticism enough in Boston to tout that picture away. (Loud cheers.) I do not care much for office, but I would like to be Mayor for one hour, just to give back to revolutionary dignity the inside of Faseuil Hall. (Great applause.) It is that that has really betrayed us. Evils do not come out of the dust they have a root. It is in the long past ignorance and ervility, and trafficking for office, that have worn away the religion and the virtue of the Commonwealth, the have taught us the bitter lesson of compromising pritciple for some imaginary gain ;-to compromise a prisciple, for what ?-to be cheated the next hour by the devil. (Cheers.) Mr. Chairman, the first thing we have to do, in order

every man about us, that we are not to compromise on single inch, no matter for what. If we could grasp the very Union itself, we are not to take it at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. Our fathers tried it, and here is the result-in the shipwreck, almost, if not entirely, constitutional government; in the gradual approach of barbarism. Wilberforce had a tongue pointed with such satire that Pitt, when he once witnessed a single exhibition of it, said to him, - 'Sir, I thought you's Christian before, but I never knew how much a Christian that you could boast such a lightning holt of satire, and use it so seldom.' Yet he carried all that power of satire into the British Parliament. suppose it possible that any member of the House of Commons would have been allowed to heat him in seat? Suppose that some lordling had assaulted Palmerston in Parliament, for words sp Can you imagine the thing possible? I do not claimit as any superior virtue in England, but they are not, at least, as barbarous as we are. We have dropped down to the level of a ruffian civilization. I would have had all Massachusetts aghast at this outrage. She ought have been so, merely as the child of American c What say you? Some of you, -thank God, I as not of the number, -sat and heard a lecture from Mo Toombs, who stood by and saw a brother Sesatel brutally whipped, and said it was right. An excellent man to lecture to the Boston public! Perhaps he will be invited again! I want to impress upon you the loss of civilipaties

which this marks. We have degenerated. It is no letger enlightened and civilized Washington, as thirty years ago. Aged and venerable men, conservati wealth and position, say : \* We must send men to Con gress who can fight ; no matter for their principles, if they can fight.' What a satire on the freest government in the world ! Where is that 'reading, thinking law-abiding people,' of whom Webster was wont !! boast? Is this, then, their experiment of self-govern ment? Representatives taken from shooting gallerit and duelling grounds, instead of courts, colleges, and the marts of commerce. I want you to look at this sugar scene in the Senate Chamber, in all its varied lights. We must tear away, for awhile, even the sympathy for the man whose gallant and glorious person has been so often before us, and on whose lips we have hung, delighted with an eloquence that is seldom matched, and forgi for a moment that his honored head was the victim this brutal assault, and look beneath the fact to the significance of it. It is a hard thing to be tied, and have men spit in our faces. That is what we leave our delegation to, if we allow them to remain in Washing ton, with the public opinion now in Massachusetts. us change it, if possible. The Legislature has done on thing, -the scars and blows of Sumper have sared at the Personal Liberry Bill. (Loud cheers.) His law rels for that single indirect gain shall be so thick the the soars shall never be visible. (Renewed applaus.) The credit of the Commonwealth is enough to company sate him for having passed through such a scent, ga only save us that statute. There is a further thing it us to do. That statute is worthless, without judge is execute it. We must create a judiciary that shall h ready to enforce it.

My friends, it is a clear, a ric and mater fathem it comion. We have know that we wave moves at ast. (Cheers.) phases of the g Ideas against ... rope : I am no means positive Revolution am ilton funded plans double bribed the is overlays us.
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hours. The State at actually kicked by an enacted law, le to treat Mana-She buys us, she the other, always. en at Washington ruth : now we have t the risk of assasth Carolina says to -a moon, that re ebster, that crawls us. ' (Cheers, and in hissing! Go to on the five thousand t know not what to nd it, see Mephisat betrayed Massaevil Hall,- haunts live to see the day gh in Boston to tear I do not care much r for one hour, just y the inside of Fenthat that has realpast ignorance and hat have worn away ommonwealth, that compromising priscompromise a prinhave to do, in order l'each ourselves,

t to compromise one we could grasp the tried it, and here is t, if not entirely, of gradual approach of ue pointed with such essed a single exhi-bought you a Chrismuch a Christian ; ag bolt of satire, and ied all that power liament. Can you her of the House of to best him in his ing had assaulted le spoken in debate. ? I do not claim it but they are not, at have dropped down I would have had rage. She ought to American civilia-thank God, I was ,-thank God, I was d a lecture from Mr. a brother Senator right. An excellent of Perhaps be will e loss of civilization erated. It is no los-ashington, as thirty men, conservative by

st send men to Con-r their principles, if n the freest govern-e-rending, thinking. Vehster was went to ment of self-govern-me shooting galleries courts, colleges, and a to look at this single its varied lights. We the sympathy for the ron has been so often have hung, delighted matched, and forgit ad was the victim of eath the fact to the hing to be tied, and is what we leave our remain in Washing-Massachusetts. Led islature has done one ummer have saved us a heers.) His lawd cheers.) His lau-hall be so thick that hall be so thick the Renewed applause. Renewed applause a compact to compact such a scene, if it a further thing for se, without judges to liciary that shall be

We friends, the anti slavery cause is not sympathy;

lier, asgacious, intelligent estimate of the fabmaterial of the government about us. We must at material of the mast of the material of the mast of We have to keep this idea before the people. I we have do not seem to gain a great deal. The that we do not Like the shadow on the dial, you but it gets to be twelve o'clock at (there.) In fact, our cause is only one of the of the great struggle of the nineteenth century esting Property. It has never triumphed in Eu-I am not sure that it will beat here. I am by no are positive of it. The wealth that bought up the ion smathered it. Yes, when Alexander Hamfurded the national debt, and by statute doubled the wealth of thirteen States, he ideas of '76 into silence. That is what old the ineas are struggling against it in Eu-That Juggernaut of infamy, the French Empekene half an incarnate merchant, and the rest a is see half an incarance mercuant, and the rest a is the Alps, from this country. Ideas bave to fars to the cape, many talls country. Ideas have and that in the struggle here. How long it the I cannot fell; but, as our friend Conway said, emedy is to be men ; each individual to be a man; ing his conscience, trampling on statutes, defying quents ; asserting, in the face of all purses and is, the anapproachable virtue of that sublime refindividual and national sins, such as makes the unde of Mr. Sumner's speech almost unequalled. and hard language, or personality; it is the erotest of virtue, in her strongest and most emegglers, against vice, wherever she meets it, (loud sel; and you must annihilate the heart, as well as reflect, you must blot out all parliamentary hisbefore you criticise the unfaltering devotion, the yes retake of individual sin, which make that est what it is. Our resolution says truly of it, "it useh worth dying for.' The blood that has been for it will haptize it on the page of history. I read oth envious approbation. 'Endorse it?' the recresee sales. Yes, more than that : it would be hard of for our dearest friend a nobler part than to have inspired to speak just what our Senator has

#### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THAR GARRISON : this moved to say a few words in the Convention seek, but as the platform was constantly occupied shers, I send you enclosed what I should have ut-Will you give these words a place in this week's exites, and oblige, Very sincerely, your friend,

CHAS. F. HOVEY. Pase, I think it is, says, "Honest and ingenuous

he are sure of each other -the tie is mutual and Braident, there are no two persons on earth of then I feel more sure than I do of S. S. Foster and

E L Garrison ; and so long as I feel thus sure of their redpess and honesty, neither of them can prois my indignation. I reserve all that for the wily et, and double-dealing, intriguing politician. Garen or Foster may move my grief and sorrow, but nt my indignation. You all remember the fact of a der of parliament who had no speech to make but to to Mr. Burke'; so I have little to say but ditte speeches of Stephen S. and Abby K. Foster : neiworld have been correct without the other. Taken piter, I never heard any thing in the way of true

Mr. Chairman, now about eleven years ago, amidst gatement caused by the annexation of Texas, I s nyself snatched 'as a brand from the burning.' the hell of partisanship and support of the Ameriastitution and Union. This inestimable good I to the plain speaking on this platform. Mr. Garriys that the Republicans are our own progeny, we must not quarrel with them. I do not agree to I think, that until they take our ground, it is futy to cry aloud and spare not, and to seize all usions like the present, when the public mind is mirned, to make the people see the right path, and tak therein ; and more than ever should we be person-, ad should call in tones of thunder upon Sumner, Elso, Gildings and Hale to desist from their support that 'overant with death, and agreement with hell,' alel States Constitution. If Charles Sumner has of true friends, Stephen S. and Abby K. Foster are misestly among the truest. It was stated here ndere Parker, as complimentary to Mr. Sumner, subscribed for THE LIBERATOR some three Buths before Wendell Phillips. Allow me to say, Mr. man, that I consider this fact in no way to the mit of Mr. Samner. Why, six numbers of THE LIBone New England Convention convicted werted me, since which, I have not contamising hand with a ballot; and certainly, when the ure of Mr. Sumner is considered, if I were thus fired to convert him.

Mr Chairman, how can we expect to reach the masses, such below Mr. Summer in attainments and natural iest, clear and personal? I have mothing more y, and will therefore take my seat, merely adding, ver, that I approve Mr. Foster's resolution, and se it may be approved by this Convention.

friends is simply one of opinion, not of principle: is as to the relative position of the Republican party or movement, not to its positive abolitionism. In ing of that party, in the Convention, as the proof our moral anti-slavery agitation, and saying we has not quarrel with an inevitable result, -cheering a sign of progress, and as sure as the law of gravilin, -we used language in a comprehensive and phiapplical, not in a technical or restricted sense; not ing that we were to cease rebuking that party for port of a blood-stained compact, (for are we not stantly rebuking it?) but only that it embodies italy all the roting anti-slavery at the North-is may (though vainly) attempting to prevent the the extension of slavery—and as compared with the parties, is certainly feared and most fiercely proti by the slave oligarchy :- hence, we do not bethat, because it is nearest the true standard, it is are the most dangerous party to our cause, and t to be the most severely condemned. Such a is, in our opinion, not only unjust but preposis, 'Credit to whom credit is due,' even if it be

#### to infinitessimal portion, - [ED. LIB. THE VENERABLE QUINCY.

following letter, sent to the presiding officer Unitarian Festival, by the venerable Jostan , Senior, now in the eighty-fifth year of his ill be read with deep interest :-

R. Hoar, Esq.,—Sin: I have received your in the control of the con

ga, it sind is in no state to receive pleasure from a some and friendly intercourse. I can think seak of nothing but of the outrages of slave-day a Kansas, and the outrages of slave-day washington—outrages, which, if not met in spirit of our fathers of the revolution, (and I to sign that they will be)—our liberties are but the sign that they will be)—our liberties are but sage, and our Union proves a curse. These out-man constitute a series of iniquitously contrived, throughout the contribution of the cont

against the right of free suffrago, and the oblimate trap arm, the foorth:

The hostile irruption of two members of Congress, into the Senate chamber of the United States, openly armed with deadly bludgeons, and probably secretly, according to the habits of their breed, with bowie knives and revolvers, and there prostrating on the floor with their bludgeons a Senator of the United States, sitting peaceably in his seat, unconscious of danger, and from his position incapable of defence, indicting upon him blows, until he sunk, senseless, under them, and which, if they do not prove mortal, it was not for want of malignant intent in the cowardly assawsins—and all this for words publicly apoken in the Senate, in the course of debate, allowed by its presiding officer to be spoken, and exceeding not one hair's breadth any line of truth or duty—this is the fifth and the climax of this series of outrages, unparalleled, nefarious, and brutal.

Such are the facts—such are the outrages—a series of them, which ought to ring through every elicity and field, through every palace and cottage of the free States—which ought to ring through every glimmering spark yet remains of the fere's states to the character of particles, and fearless, far-seeing statesmen. But, alas? sir, I see no principle of vitality in what is called freedom in these times. I see divisions enough, and parties enough; I see every whim setting up for itself, and calling and expecting all the rest of the world to follow in its train. But of a thoughtful, concentrated, determined principle of oritial at a to the constant, which, in former times, entitled the inhabitant of the free States to the character of particles, and fearless, far-seeing statesmen. But, alas? sir, I see no principle of vitality in what is called freedom in these times. I see divisions enough, and parties enough; I see every whim setting up for itself, and calling and expecting all the rest of the desire of place and the hope of enoulument, and the desire of place and the hope of enoulume

al courts of justice, and of the military arm, leaving nothing of hope to the spirit of freedom in the free States, but public speech in the legislature and the ballot-box. The one a slaveholder's mobine is crushing in Kansas, the other a deputation from the stands charged with is, that his speeches were

Quincy, 27th May, 1856.

#### From the Boston Daily Advertiser, June 2d.

retirement, to address public assemblies, for more friend of freedom thinks him the friend of freedom. frequently than is consistent with my health or the And if our arms at this distance cannot defend him fixed purposes of my life. But with the satisfaction which I feel in addressing you, at the present time, are mingled the profoundest anxiety and grief. and to the Almighty Maker of men.—Evening Tel-An irrepressible sadness takes possession of my egraph. most serious apprehensions force themselves upon me, that events are already in train,—with an im-pulse too mighty to be resisted,—which will cause our beloved country to weep tears of blood through all her borders for generations to come. The civil all society, at the Revere House, on Thursday war—for such it is—with its horrid train of pillage, fire and slaughter, carried on without the slightest-provocation, against the infant settlements of our brethren on the frontier of the Union; the worse than civil war which has for months of brual violence, lies prostrate, and think what raged unrebuked at the capitol of the Union, and has at length, by an act of lawless violence, of which I know no parallel in the history of constitutional government, stained the floor of the Senate chamber with the blood of an unarmed, defenceless man, and he a Senator of Massachusetts;—ah,
my friends, these are agents, which for the months of deadlier symptoms. One click models are believed as the models of deadlier symptoms. less man, and he a Senator of Massachusetts;—ah, my friends, these are events, which, for the good name, the peace, the safety of the country; for the cause of free institutions throughout the world; it were worth all the gold of California to blot from the record of the past week. They sicken the heart of the good citizen, of the patriot, of the Christian; they awaken a gloomy doubt whether the sacrifices and the sufferings endured by our fathers, that they might found a purer, higher, and freer civilization on this western continent anxieus solicitude. fathers, that they might found a purer, higher, and freer civilization on this western continent than the world had yet seen, have not been endured in vain. For myself. I must own that they fill me with sorrow "too deep for tears." I am not ashamed of the weakness, for I sorrow not for myself. My few remaining years are hastening too had been solved and left unaverged, and the wounds of that defenceless self. My few remaining years are hastening too me with sorrow "too deep for tears." I am not ashamed of the weakness, for I sorrow not for myself. My few remaining years are hastening too rapidly to a close, to allow any thing, on this side of the grave, which concerns myself individually, to be of much importance. But I sorrow beyond the power of words to express for the objects of the power of words to express for the objects of affection I shall leave behind, for my children, for the country; and Heaven is my witness, that, if by laying down my life this hour, I could undo what has been done the last two years, (beginning with the disastrous repeal of the Missouri Compronies) to embitter the different parts of the countries. mise.) to embitter the different parts of the country against each other, and weaken the ties which unite them. I would willingly, cheerfully, make the sacrifice.

the sacrifice.
Oppressed with these emotions, did I not think that there is a healing influence in the name of Washington, that his character is almost the only remaining object of attachment and veneration throughout the country, and that in the contemplation of it, there is a spirit of wisdom to guide and of love to soften and unite. I would even now throw myself on your indulgence, to excuse me from the duty of this evening.'

'He saw Mr. Brooks approach Mr. Sumner, not in front, but on one side, address him some words in a low tone of voice, and the moment Mr. Sumner raised his head, turning it on one side to listen for the duty of this evening.'

throughout the country, and that in the contemplation of it, there is a spirit of wisdom to goide and of love to soften and unite. I would even now throw myself on your indulgence, to excuse me from the duty of this evening.

\*\*REMARKS OF MR. R. W. EMERSON, At a Meeting at Concord, May 25th, to consider the Outrage upon Mr. Sumner.

\*\*MR. Chairman: I sympathise heartily with the spirit of the resolutions. The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one state. I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom. Life has no parity of value in the free State and in the slave State. In one, it is adorned with education, with ekilful labor, with arts, with long prospective interests, with sacred family ties, with honor and justice. In the other, life is a fever; man is an animal, given to pleasure, frivolous, irritable, spending his days in hunting and practising with deadly weapons to defend himself against his slaves, and against his companions brought up in the same idle and dangerous way.

Such people live for the moment; they have properly no future, and readily risk on every passion a life which is of small value to themselves or to others. Many years ago, when Mr. Webster was challenged in Washington to a duel by one of these madcaps, his friends, and of the whole country, and was not to be risked on the turn of a vagabond's ball.

The Fugitive Slave Law was the first;
The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the second;
The invasion of Kansas, and the taking of the ballot-boxes by storm, by a mob of slaveholders, the third;
The encouragement of this sacrilegious foray against the right of free suffrage, and the ultimate support of it by the National Executive and military arm, the fourth;
The hostile irruption of two members of Congress, into the Senate chamber of the United States.

Life and life are incommensurate. The whole State of South Carolina does not now offer any one or any number of persons who are to be weighed, for a moment, in the scale with such a person as the meanest of them all has now struck down.—The worst life staked against the best. It is the best whom they desire to kill. It is only when they cannot answer your reasons, that they wish to knock you down. If, therefore, Massachusetts could send to the Senate a better man than Mr.

vance of the public good and general welfare, I see nothing. The palsy of death rests on the spirit of freedom in the so called 'free States.'

In my opinion, it is time to speak on the house-top, what every man who is worthy of the name of freeman utters in his chamber, and feels in his charge. I think, sir, if Mr. Sumner had any vices, we should be likely to hear of them. They have freeman utters in his chamber, and feels in his charge. I think, sir, if Mr. Sumner had any vices, we should be likely to hear of them. They have fastened their eyes like microscopes now for five states, the low by the hope of emoluments; playing between the parties of the free States, and counteracting one by the other; by flattering the vain, paying the mean, and rewarding the subservient, the slaveholders have, in the course of five veers, usurped the whole constitutional powers of the Union, have possessed themselves of the executive chair, of the halls of Congress, of the national courts of justice, and of the military arm, leaviliance in the labor which party organization requires. I say it to his honor. But more to his honor are the faults which his enemies lay to his charge. I think, sir, if Mr. Sumner had any vices, we should be likely to hear of them. They have fastened their eyes like microscopes now for five years, on every net, word, manner, and movement, to find a flaw, and with what result? His opponents accuse him neither of drunkenness, nor denote the sum neither of drunkenness, nor denote the sum of the sum of the military and the sum of t

the slaveholders of the House of Representatives between the slaveholders of the House of Representatives written before they were spoken; which of course have attempted to crush by a slaveholders bladgeon.

My heart is too full. If I should pour forth all that is in it, both paper and time would fail me.

Truly, I am yours,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Onion 27th May 1856. that ever lived. It is the high compliment he pays to the intelligence of the Senate and of the country. When the same reproach was cast upon the first orator of ancient times by some caviller of his day, he said, 'I should be ashamed to come with one unconsidered word before such an assembly

MR. EVERETT AT TAUNTON.

Mr. Everett repeated his address on the Character of Washington, at Taunton, on Friday evening, introducing it with the following semarks on the recent outrages in Kansas and at Washington:

Link to address on the Washington:

The total address and at Washington:

Well, sir, this noble head, secondly and so which the whitest soul I ever knew.

Well, sir, this noble head, so comely and so wise, must be the target for a pair of bullies to beat with under contending emotions. It is certainly most grateful to me, at your request, to submit to you those views of the character of Washington, (most pleasing theme to an American ear.) which have been already received with distinguished favor in many other parts of our common country. It is a subject on which, from my youth up. I have sought on many occasions, to the best of my ability, to illustrate and adorn:—the only object. In the could have called me out from my retirement, to address public assemblies, far more freedomtly, than is consistent with my health or the first didness that have been read may be shudder of terror that ran through all this community on the first tidings of this brutal attack. Let him hear that every man of worth in New England loves his virtues; that every mother thinks assuredly, which could have called me out from my retirement, to address public assemblies, far more freedom thinks him the friend of freedom. And if our arms at this distance cannot defend him.

#### THE PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON.

We make the following extract from the closing portion of a speech made by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, at the dinner of the Massachusetts Med-

image, are repeated on the radiant, forehead of Liberty herself, and flaw the golden circlet we had vainly written with the sacred name of Union!

Dii, prohibite minas! Dii, talem avertite casum! I give you, Mr. President,

The Surgeons of the City of Washington-God grant them wisdom, for they are dressing the wounds of a mighty empire, and of uncounted

## STATEMENT OF AN EYE-WITNESS. Dr. Bunting, of Montreal, Canada, who happened to be in the Senate Gallery when the assault upon Mr. Sumner occurred, has furnished to the Journal an account of the affair:

#### THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JUNE 6, 1856.

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a new arrangement of elements so hostile, of interests so irreconcilable, of institutions so incongruous; and we earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, prehensive speech of RALPH WALDO EMERSON, at Consponsibility, in the maintenance of her slave system, of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York. and the North to organize an independent government in accordance with her own ideas of justice and the

and great labor by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., the General Agent possible, a large number of letters and communication of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, a copy of which tions. Our correspondents must exercise all due pa hell, should possess. 'It is a terrible record, which We are unable to find room, this week, for in oblivion, until the disgraceful and bloody system of at the New England A. S. Convention. slavery is swent from our land, and with it, all Compromise Bills, all Constitutional Guarantees to Slavery, Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY-ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUBS A most striking pictorial representation (striking in a taining to the career of the merchant. two-fold sense) of the late cowardly assault upon Mr. SUMNER, in the Sepate Chamber, is for sale at the Bookstores in this city. The unconscious victim is seen prostrate on his left side, holding his pen in his right hand, with his head scarred and bleeding, while over him These songs are brief, simple, and unpretending-in the stands his cowardly assailant, with cane uplifted and language of the writer, partially shattered, exerting his utmost strength to consummate his devilish intent; and near him are seen Douglas, Toombs, Keitt, Edmundson, and others of the Southern chiralry, whose features betoken fiendish de- THE STANDARD SPELLEE. Phillips, Sampson & Co., light at the bloody spectacle. It is exceedingly well got up—the likeness of Mr. Summer is excellent—and no containing Exercises for Oral Spelling; also, Sentences better service can be done to the cause of freedom, at for Silent Spelling, by writing from Dictation. By Erss this juncture, than to buy and frame a copy of it, to be SARGENT, Author of 'The Standard Speaker,' and the suspended in every dwelling in the free States. Price Standard Series of Readers.' Fifth Thousand.

NER, delivered in the U. S. Senate May 19, 1856, on the Rice, D. D., and the other to Rev. Nehemiah Adams, Kansas Question, has been printed and is for sale at the D. D., just published by Crocker & Brewster. We com office of the New York Tribune, in a pamphlet of 32 mend it to the attention of our readers. closely printed pages, at the low price of 40 cents per dozen copies ; \$2,50 per hundred ; \$20 per thousand. gratuitous distribution throughout the North.

was again crowded to overflowing on Tuesday evening. with reference to the frightful state of things in Kansas -Mayor Rice presiding, assisted by Hon. Nathan Hale, has not been at Hopedale a sufficient length of time, acand many other distinguished citizens. Speeches were cording to his advertisement in your columns, to judge made by Charles H. Branscomb, Esq. and Rev. Mr. of the competency of Wm. S. and Abbie S. Haywood, as prolonged for many minutes, round after round, and well qualified for their new position, and eminently and long protracted calls were made for WENDELL PHIL- reformers who are looking for a good school for their M. Thacher, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, were appointed much, for they are well patronized thus early, and their a committee to raise funds to be applied for the aid of prospects are encouraging. I will only add, that in no

thing their own way in that territory, and have destroyed in Lawrence alone, \$130,000 worth of property. Fourteen persons had been shot at within the last nine days, and two or three killed. A fresh attempt to obstruct the Congressional Committee had been made by arresting, without legal process, its clerks and witnesses before its face, and in every way insulting and defying Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority of said Committee. A civil war seemed inevitable, and the Committee believed that they should soon be compelled to leave. What 'a glorious Union' is ours!

Large numbers of Eastern emigrants are returning from Kansas. Among them is Mr. Mace who was shot Large numbers of Eastern emigrants are returning from Kansas. Among them is Mr. Mace who was shot in the leg. Col. Eidredge is on his way to Washington to demand damages of the government for the destruction of the Lawrence Hotel. Gov. Reeder escaped from St. Charles, Mo. as a deck hand on board a steamer!—
Gen. Pomeroy is safe. Gov. Robinson is in prison at Leavenworth, bail having been refused in his case. He is unquestionably in great peril.

SENATOR WILSON AT HOME. Senator Wilson arrived at Natick on Saturday afternoon from Washington. During the evening he was called upon by several hundred of his townsmen. B. F. Howe acted as spokesman, and in a brief speech, welcomed him home. Wilson, in reply, after adverting to the attack upon Senator Sumer, said that he had been called to account for branding that assault as brutal, nurderous and cowardly, but he would never retract the words.

THE BOSTON REPUBLICAN CLUB have chartered a pretty full report of 'the sayings and doings' at the Anti-Slavery Featival held in Faneuil Hall on the 28th at the time of the National Convention, June 17th. The fare will be low, and we learn that large numbers by George W. Putnam, of Lynn, warmly welcoming Mr. Pillabury back to his native land.

The Boston Republican Club have chartered a steemboat to run from Boston to Philadelphia and back, at the time of the National Convention, June 17th. The fare will be low, and we learn that large numbers have already engaged for the excursion. The Mass Convention at Philadelphia will probably be one of the largest ever held in the United States.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE. In the U. S. House of Representatives, on the 2

Mr. CAMPBELL (Ohio,) from the Select Committee or the assault of Mr. Sumner by Mr. Brooks, made a report, concluding as follows:

BOSTON. JUNE 6, 1856.

PREEDOM DEMANDS SEPARATION.
The following form of a petition to Congress has been prepared for general circulation, and the signatures of all such as are convinced that it is as impossible for the institutions of Freedom and Slavery to be at peace, under any form of government, as it is to unit Christ and Belial, and that it is only to 'sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind,' any longer to attempt to perpetuate an alliance between elements and forces which can never be reconciled. With 'Border Ruffianism' triumphant, backed up by the United States army, Kansas given over to plunder, rapine and murder, Lawrence in flames, Sumner weltering in his blood on the floor of the Senate, and delard that insamuch as the said Preston S. Brooks is a member of this House, they cannot arrest, and a portion cannot try or punish him for a breach of their privileges; that they cannot proceed further in the case than to make complaint to this deeds, and insolently defying the North, who that has a spark of manhood left will not joyfully put his signature to the petition which follows? Copies of it may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, on a printed sheet, and will be extensively circulated; and it is earnestly requested that those to whose care it may be entrusted will circulate it without delay, giving all an opportunity to sign it, without regard to sex. Then send it to Wilson, Giddings, or some other member of Congress, to be laid before that body.

To the Senate and House of Representalizes of the Constitution, but as an act of disorderly behavior; and whereas, it further appears from such investigation, but as an act of disorderly behavior; and whereas, it further appears from such investigation, and of the Senate and House as declared by the Constitution, but as an act of disorderly behavior; and whereas, it further appears from such investigation, and of the Senate and House as declared by the Constitution, but as an act of disorderly behavior; and whereas, it further appears from su Congress, to be laid before that body.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of State of respectfully submit to Congress:

That as, in the nature of things, antagonistical principles, interests, pursuits, and institutions can never unite:

That an experience of more than three score years having demonstrated that there can be no real union between the North and the South, but, on the contrary, ever increasing alienation and strife, at the imminent hazard of civil war, in consequence of their conflicting views in relation to Freedom and Slavery:

That the South, having declared it to be not only her right and purpose to eternize her slave system where it now exists, but to extend it over all the territories that now belong or may hereafter be annexed to the Republic, come what may; and having outlawed from her soil the entire free colored population of the North, made it perilous for any Northern white citizen to exercise his constitutional right of freedom of speech in that section of the country, and even in the national capital, and proclaimed her hostility to all free institutions universally:

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a Worth of the Senate of the Senate and House as declared by the Constitution, but as an act of disorderly behavior; and whereas, it farther appears from such investigation, that Henry A. Edmundson, a representative from the State of South Carolina, sometime previous to said assault, were informed that it was the purpose of the said charles Summer, for words used by him in debate as Senator in the Senate of the United States, and took no means to discourage or prevent the same, but, on the contrary, anticipating the commission of such violence, were present on one or more occasions to witness the same, as friends of the assailant,—therefore, the said sacroff of the said act of Henry A. Edmundson and Lawrence M. Keitt, in regard to said assault.

Signed by Mr. Campbell, (Ohio,) Spinner and Pennington

and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case require—leaving the South to depend upon her own resources, and to take all the re- B. FROTHINGHAM, delivered at the recent anniversary So many and stirring are the incidents of the day, and so vast is the accumulation of impor-

tant matter that we wish to lay before our readers THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AND ITS VICTIMS. This that if THE LIBERATOR were a daily sheet three times is the title of No. 18 of the series of Anti-Slavery Tracts.

It has been prepared with the utmost carefulness of room. We have on file, for as speedy insertion as every one, desirous of knowing what have been the op-erations of the Fugitive Slave Law, 'that enactment of we accept at their hands.

the people of this country should never allow to sleep list of the Contributions, Donations and Pledges made

We have received a copy of an Address delivered all Fugitive Slave Laws.' It makes 48 pages, small at the Dedication of the New Rooms of the Boston Mertype, and is sold at cost price-5 cts. single; 50 cents cantile Library Association, January 1, 1856, by George per dozen; \$4 per hundred. For sale at the Anti-R. Sampson, Esq.; repeated in Tremont Temple, January 17th, and printed by the Government of the M. L. A. It makes a handsome pamphlet of 64 pages, and embodies many excellent thoughts and suggestions per-

> WAYSIDE SONGS, by EDWARD C. GOODWIN, Author of "Hampton Heights," is the title of a neat volume just published by Mason Brothers, New York.

> > 'Thoughts which all of us may spare, Flowers which spring up every where, Shadows falling here and there.'

SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH, is the title of a pamphlet The magnificent speech of Hon. CHARLES SUM- containing two letters-one addressed to Rev. N. L.

In consequence of the crowded state of our col-Tens of thousands of copies should be purchased for umns, we are obliged to defer several Book notices until our next number.

#### THE OLD CRADLE BOCKED ONCE MORE. Fanguil Hall THE HOME SCHOOL AT HOPEDALE.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :- As our friend, Mr. Bloom Nute, both of Kansas, Rev. Edward E. Hale, Hon. S.
H. Walley, Hon. Charles H. Phelps, and Hon. Henry
Wilson. Senator Wilson was greeted with a tremendous
storm of applause, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, cheer upon cheer : his reception was unexampled. Loud worthy of the confidence of the public, particularly of LIPS, Esq., but he was not in the hall. George R. Russell, Esq., William Blake, Esq., Dr. H. I. Bowditch, would commit myself still further in their commendation, Lowell, Esq., Patrick T. Jackson, Esq., Hon. G. M. Thayler, and Dr. Sarmuel G. Herrer and place will the young be under better influences than at KANSAS. The Missouri-Kansas Ruffians have every as a "Reform School" is not contemplated.

WM. H. FISH.

TREASURER'S REPORT Of Receipts, from Feb. 20 to May 20, 1856. Rec'd from Wm. W. Brown, for his collections :

At Clappville S4 20, Saugus 3 12, S. Danvers 6, Walpole 2, Fall River 12, from Rich'd Plumer, Newburyport, last summer, and omitted 7 Plumer, Newburyport, last summer, and omitted, 7. \$84 32

Rec'd from Prince S. Crowell, E. Dennis, do-

...... 49 06 

Of Elizabeth H. Porter, Treasurer Reading A.
S. Society, 10; D. Merritt, 1, A. M.
Chase, Canton, 20; John T. Sargent 8,
Hiram Wilson, Canada, 1.
Donation from Essex Co. A. S. Society, by hand
of S. S. Foster
Rec'd from Win. W. Brown, for collections:
In North Bridgewater 2. Medfield, over ex-

In North Bridgewater 2, Medfield, over expenses, 2 13; Walpole Centre 3 50, E. Medway 3 68, Milford, over expenses, 

Rec'd from S. May, Jr. for collections :

Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society. Brookline, May 21, 1856.

All communications for the undersigned, until SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. Anti- Slavery Society.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachucanterbury, N. H., Sunday, June S. Hancock Hancock, Essex, Mass., Sheldonville, Mass.,

CRIMINAL REFORM.—Mr. and Mrs. Chantes Spear will speak at the Universalist Church in Foxboro', on Sunday next, on the subject of Criminal Reform; also, on the Causes and Prevention of Crime. Exercises commencing at 2 and 5 o'clock, P. M. Exhibitions of Prison Scenes will also be given on Tuesday Evenings following, by Mr. and Mrs. Spear, at the American Hall, commencing at half past 7 c'clock.

DIED-In Foxboro', 8th ult., NANCY A., daughter f Richard Strattan, aged 19 years. In Marlboro', Mass., 23d ult., Wm. Henny Bannis-

TER, nged 26.
In this city, 24th ult., WILLIAM BROWN, aged 67.

# AYER'S

Are curing the Sick to an extent never before known of any Medicine.

INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES. JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known perfumer, of Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, whose choice products are found at almost

JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known perfumer, of Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, whose choice products are found at almost every toilet, says, —

"I am happy to say of your CATRARTIC PILLS, that I have found them a better family medicine for common use than any other within my knowledge. Many of my friends have realized marked benefits from them, and coincide with me in believing that they possess extraordinary vitrues for driving out diseases and curing the sick. They are not only effectual, but safe and pleasant to be taken —qualities which must make them valued by the public when-they are known."

The venerable Chancellor WARDLAW, writes from Baltimora, 15th April, 1854.—

"Dn. J. C. ATER. Sir: I have taken your Pills with great benefit, for the listlessness, languor, loss of appetite, and Billous beadache, which has of late years overtaken me in the spring. A few doses of your Pills cured me. I have used your Cherry Proctoral many years in my family for coughs and coids with unfailing success. You make medicines which care, and I feel it apleasure to commend you for the good you have done and are doing."

JOHN F. BEATTY. Esq., Sec. of the Penn. Railroad Co., says, "Pa. R. R. Office, Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1853.

"Sir. I take pleasure in adding my testimony to the efficacy of your medicines, having derived very material benefit from the use of both your Pectoral and Cathartic Pilis. I am never without them in my family, nor shall I ever consent to be, while my means will procure them."

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D., of Wentworth, N. H., writes,—
"Having used your Cathartic Pilis in my practice, I certify from experience, that they are an invaluable purgative. In cases of disordered functions of the liver, causing headache, indigention, costiveness, and the great variety of diseases that follow, always a surer remedy than any other. In all cases where the they are a surer remedy than any other. In all cases where a purjuitive remedy is required, I confidently recommend these pulls to the public, as superior to any other I have ever found. They are sure in their operation, and perfectly safe—qualities which make them an invaluable article for public use. I have for many years known your Cherry Pectoral as the best Cough medicine in the world, and these Pills are in no was inferior to that admirable preparation for the treatment of diseases."

medicine in true words, and treese Pills are in no wase interior to that admirable preparation for the treatment of diseases."

"Dr. J. C. Ayer. Dear Sir: I have been afflicted from my birth with scro'ds in its worst form, and now, after twenty years' trial, and an randed amount of suffering, have been completely cured in a few weeks by your Pills. With what feelings of rejoicing I write, can only be imagined when you realize what I have suffered, and how long.

"Never until now have I been free from this loathsome disease in some shape. At times it attacked my eyes, and made me almost blind, besides the unendurable pain; at others it settled in the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and has kept me partly baid all my days; somestimes it came out in my face, and kept it for months a raw sore.

"About nine weeks ago I commencêd taking your Cathartic Pills, and now am entirely free from the complaint. My eyes are well, my skin is fair, and my hair has commenced a healthy growth; all of which makes me feel aiready a new person.

"Hoping this statement may be the means of conveying information that shall do good to others, I am, with every sentiment of gratitude,

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker from her child-

mation that small do good to others, I am, with every sentments of gratitude,

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker from her childhood, and her statement is strictly true.

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker from her childhood, and her statement is strictly true.

Overseer of the Portamouth Manufacturing Co."

Capt. JOEL PRATT, of the ship Marion, writes from Boston, 20th April, 1854.—
"Your Pills have cured me from a bilious attack which arose from derangement of the Liver, which had become very serious. I had failed of any relief by my Physician, and from every remedy I could try; but a few doses of your Pills have completely restored me to health. I have given them to my children for worms, with the best effects. They were promptly cured. I recommended them to a friend for continuess, which had troubled him for months; he told me in a few days they had cured him. You make the best medicine in the world, and I am free to say so."

You make the best medicine in the world, and I am free to say so."

Read this from the distinguished Solicitor of the Supreme Court, whose brilliant abilities have made him well known, not only in this but the neighboring States.

"New Orleans, 5th Aprel, 1854.

"Sta: I have great astisfaction in assuring you that myself and family have been very nuch benefited by your medicines. My wife was cured, two years since, of a severe and dangerous cough, by your Curana Peronat, and since then has enjoyed perfect health. My children have several times been cured from stacks of the Inducana and Croup by it. It is an invaluable middle of the several times been cured from stacks of the Inducana and Croup by it. It is an invaluable relative to the formulation. Your Carnataric Philis have entirely cured to complaints. Your Carnataric in much more important, from the fact, that is indeed, this cure is much more important, from the fact that it is indeed, the country affords, and from any of the numerous recedies I ad taken.

"You seem to us, Doctor, like we have destined blessing to our family, and you may well suppose we are not unmindful of it. Xours respectfully,

"Senate Chamber, Ohio, April 5th, 1854.

LEAVITT THANKE.

"Br. J. C. AYER. Honored Sir: I have made a thorough trial
of the CATRARYE PILLS left me by your agent, and have been
cured by them of the dreadful Rhennatism under which he
found me suffering. The first dose relieved me, and a few subsequent doses have entirely removed the disease. I feel in better
health now than for some years before, which I attribute entirely
to the effects of your CATRARYE PILLS.

Yours with great respect,
LUCIUS B. METCALE."

LUCIUS B. METCALP."

The above are all from persons who are publicly known where they reside, and who would not make these statements without a thorough conviction that they were true.

Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you off with other pills, on which they make more profit. Be not imposed upon by any such counsellors.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass.

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Salem ; H. H. HAY, Portland;

# J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; Ard by all Droggists and Dealers in Medicine every where. M28

LAND FOR SALE THIRTY-TWO acres of good Land well wooded, and near a flourishing village in the central part of the State of New York, will be sold or exchanged for New England village property. Apply to R. F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill.

From the Washington Union. ABOLITION RELIGION-ABOLITION MO-RALITY-AND ABOLITION POLITICS.

We learn from ancient authors, there was one a certain temple, situated in the very centre of Greece, dedicated to all the heathen gods in a lump. It was called Panionium, and it was here that a deputation of priests, representing the disciples of all the dynasty of Olympus, (with the exception, we believe, of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, and Diana, the goddess of chastity.) annually met to celebrate their orgies. It is from this temple of Panionium that Milton is supposed to have derived his Pandemonium, which everybody knows signifies a general convocation of demons. Something similar to this has, within a few years

Something similar to this has, within a lew years past, been established in the Empire City, (we believe under the auspices of Mr. Tappan,) by the name of the Tabernacle, a sort of Panionium, where every whip-sillabub philosopher, every crack-brained fanatic, cold-blooded hypocrite, or malignant enemy of religion, morality, and the principles of social organization, may have an opportunity of addressing a gaping crowd of all ages, sexes, and colors, and disseminating his pernicious sophistries. It is here that Garrison launches forth his anathemas against the Bible, the Church. forth his anothemas against the Bible, the Church, the Constitution, and the Union; it is here that the Reverend Rifleman Theodore Parker shouts treason, blasphemy, ribaldry, and bulderdash in the same breath; it is here that unsexed females. like Lucy Stone, Abby Foster, and Lucretia Mott, under pretence of advocating the rights of woman, are not only permitted, but encouraged, to inculcate doctrines which, if carried into practical operation, would degrade the sex from their high station in the domestic empire, and utterly incipacitate them for the performance of all those sacred duties imposed on them by God and Nature. In short, there is no doctrine, however pernicious; no vagary, however monstrous or absurd; and no theory, however wicked, disgusting, or dangerous to our civil institutions, to the long-recognised code of morality, and the venerable fabric of reli-gion, which is not inculcated and enforced, by gion, which is not inculcated and enforced, by itinerant lecturers, apostate churchmen, and braz-en-faced infidels, in this modern Pandemonium.

As one of the latest samples of the doctrines held forth in this gabbling Babel, we shall proceed to give a series of extracts, taken at random from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which held its annual meeting at the Tabernacle a few days since. Let us begin with a brace of res-olutions offered, among a batch of others, by Mr. Garrison, and of course coming from the sanctum

This is pretty well for a country where, according to Mr. Garrison, there is neither freedom of speech nor of the press, except among the traffickers in human flesh and human souls. But let us proceed, which we shall do without much regard to the order of the speakers who followed this

to the order of the speakers who followed this enunciation of the high priest.

The Reverend Mr. May, fresh from the hot-house of Syracuse, opened the ball, and concluded by exclaiming, 'Perish money, perish credit, perish business, and let justice and right prevail!' For which he was very much cheered.

The reverend gentleman was succeeded by Mr.

Remond, a colored prodigy, who 'wanted the men who purchased Sharpe's rifles for Kansas to purchase Sharpe's rifles to fight with in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama.' Mr. Remond, the colored gentleman, assumed, moreover, that 'no man could be trusted in a tight place who was not an out-and-out dissolutionist'; for which he was very much applauded; and, finally, Mr. Remond, the colored gentleman, concluded by de-Remond, the colored gentleman, concluded by claring, most energetically, 'that, rather than this infernal system of slavery should continue, he de-sired to see this infernal Union shattered to atoms. He hoped to see the slaves rise in their might yet, and murder all their oppressors, or their oppressors would murder them.' · His prayer to God was, that this Union may be shattered into a thou-sand pieces, and the fragments scattered.' Here the reporter states, 'The rest was lost in loud and

the reporter states. The rest was lost in four and turbulent appliause.'

The gentleman of color was followed by Miss-Mistress Lucy Stone Blackwell, who became somewhat puzzled by mixing up the rights of women with those of the gentlemen of color, and finally went off in a paroxysm of cursing, exclaiming: 'Curses on the Constitution! curses on the Fugitive Slave Law!' Whereupon, she or he (for we believe there is some doubt on the subject) sat

down amid bursts of applause.

Next came a pig to be shaved in the likeness of the Reverend Rifleman Theodore Parker, who was the Reverend Killeman Theodore Parker, who was in high good humor, and actually laughed till be shook his long beard. He was going on very swimmingly, cracking jokes about the Trinity, un-til he crught the eye of his old antagonst, Lucretia Mott, when he fell into considerable confusion, and began to talk greater nonsense than usual. Lucre tia desired permission to speak a word, which be ing accorded by the high priest of the Pandemo-nium, she gave the reverend fugleman a terrible broadside, worse than a discharge of Sharpe's rifles. or, as Mr. Garrison facetiously calls him, did not exactly wish himself in Kansas, but no doubt he wished himself anywhere else than in Pandemonium. But he got off by complimenting Lucre-tia, saying he agreed with her perfectly, and that if he did not wear a broad brim, he was so much of a Quaker that, though he did not mind instigat-ing others to fight, he was very scrupulous about fighting himself. There can be no doubt that the reverend fugleman is terribly henpecked by Lucre-

One Stephen Pearl Andrews next came forward with a moral lecture, with which he adroitly com-bined a defence of Mr. Seward, who—Heaven save the mark !—it appears, don't go far enough for the Spirit of the Times. He summed up his moral code as follows: 'There was a moral duresse as well as a physical one; and the only avenue out of this dilemma was to swear to anything. If a moral duresse was on a citizen, either to take an oath to observe a constitution, portions of which were against his conscience and the laws of God, or to renounce the rights of citizenship, he would prefer the latter; but if in the political arena, (meaning, no doubt, if in Mr. Seward's place,) he would sweato support the Constitution, with the express pur pose of disobeying such portions as militated against a higher law, &c. This doctrine, which Mr. Andrews justly considers 'a new principle,' must be very consoling to Messrs. Seward, Sumner, Hale, Wade, Wilson, Chase, and Harlan, If it do not quiet their consciences, we do not know what

Mr. Foster 'knew neither friend nor foe, and came he from the grog-shop or the brothel, when on this sacred platform, he should take him to his on this sacred platform, he should take him to his heart. He knew neither religion nor politics. He only knew those as friends who would work with him on the anti-slavery platform.' 'He did not care a snap for the Constitution.' 'The federal government was undoubtedly pro-slavery, and the church was the same; and both must be reformed and re-christianized—the church first, for the church was coing to the deal of a retter it rechurch was going to the devil, or, rather, it was there now, and it must be torn therefrom, for by the charch the people were educated. Finally, he took Gerrit Smith (the ass laden with gold) to task for voting money for the army and navy, instead of emaccipation. Alack! poor Gerrit! is it not too bad that the abolitionists should fleece him of his money and abuse him at the same time like a pick-pocket?

The hat being first carried around—which the re-porter states had the effect of thinning the audience very sensibly—Mr. S. S. Foster made a sortic against Mr. Seward, on the ground that 'if the British government came to our shores, as they threatened to, to free the slaves, Seward and Butler would stand side by side to drive away that army, at the point of the bayonet, which was coming to free the bondmen.' He then read an article from the London Telegraph, stating that the people of Great Britain were prepared to strike off the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves in the United States; and if they had not a Richard Cour de Lion to s sist them, they had a name which would be a raillying point, and that name was Victoria. Who after this, can doubt the loyalty of the abolition-ists? We will merely observe, en passant, that we feel assured these attacks on Mr. Seward do him great injustice, and that he is as good an abolition-ist as the best of them. And this seemed to be the opinion of the meeting; for it is recorded that

onary from Exeter Hall, came forward to give states, the most hopeless; for

no morality, and no government. Chaos would come again; the elements of society would fall into utter confusion, and another dispersion, like that from the Tower of Babel, alone save mankind from irretrievable confusion, corruption, and degradation.

lition desperadoes against the Church, the State, and every principle of that moral code which is indispensable to social organization. They have leagued with men who have no religion but abolileagued with men who have no religion but abolition, no morality but abolition, and who recognise no government but what is based on abolition. It is in vain for them to say that these principles emanate from the mad-brained fanatics with which they have associated, and that they do not sancthey have associated, and that they do not sale-tion them. If so, then why do not they discour-age and denounce them? Why do they give them aid and comfort? Why have they not devoted themselves to correcting instead of encouraging these pernicious errors, that threaten the entire overthrow of our religious, social, and political edifice ! Let them answer these questions satisfactorily, and then, and not till then, can they clear their skirts of a stigma that has done more to weaken the influence of the gown and the pulpit than all the writings of all the unbelievers that ever put pen to paper. Either they must dissolve this partnership, or become responsible for the debts of the whole firm.

#### SELECTIONS.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. SPEECH OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, OF JERSEY CITY,

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery

Society, New York, May 8th, 1856.

It is a great privilege, in my estimation, to occupy a place upon this platform, with these old tried soldiers of a noble cause, who have fought the good fight so long, bearing the burden and heat of many a wear when I see the burden and heat of many a wear when I see the burden and heat of many a weary day. I cannot hope to contribute anything to the ideas or sentiments which they have so ably enforced. I have no new facts to communicate, no new arguments to urge, no new plans of action to submit, no new course of conduct recommend; I only wish to express my profour sympathy with the principles that lie at the basis of this Anti-Slavery Movement, and with the movement itself as the modern embodiment of those principles. There is a grand monotony in all antislavery meetings. They show magnifisently the capacities of a single idea. They are splendid illustrations of the power of playing every sort of music on a single string. People complain that this is an old story, that the thought is threadbare.

thought is old till it has done its work. The great Gospel-word, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor lustrations are not far from our own homes. There great Gospel-word, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor lastrations are not far from our own nomes. There as thyself,' is as new and original to-day as it was stands the prophet Garrison, still uttering his eighteen centuries ago, and equally new and original will it be until the Kingdom of God shall be and falling around him, and the whirlwind of feelestablished on earth. Though one were just to reach the control of the standard of the control iterate, with all the power of his soul, the fundamental truths—that God is Love—that man is made in the image of God—that every man is brother to every other man—that every man is brother to every other man—that every man is brother's keeper—applying these truths to the special evils of the age, as they came into prominence, he would be a prophet; and he would do a prophet's work in enlightening and arousing the conscience of his fellow-men. It has always seemed to me that the plan of the original Abolitionists was the true one—to leave speculations about ways and means—to run into no fatiguing digressions for the entertainment of this or that clique, but to gather up all their energies to shatter the barred gate of conscience, and let the light of God's truth shine into the souls of men. There would be lit-

the posture of our people towards the institution of slavery, I am more and more impressed with the fact that this posture is an equivocal one. Anti-Slavery people are as numerous as our northern population; but where is the anti-slavery action! You will scarcely find a man, be he Whig, Republican, or Know-Nothing, who will not declare explicitly and with emphasis that his antipathy to slavery is as strong as yours. The lawyers say so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say so; the merchants consequence of the capitalists say so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say so; the merchants consequence of the capitalists say so; the capitalists say sa

poor Mr. S. S. Foster was greeted with loud hissings for his blasphemy of the veiled prophet of the higher law.

Mr. S. S. Foster was followed, or preceded, we forget which, by Mr. Buffon or Buffoon—there is some doubt as to his cognomen—who proved very clearly that, as black was no color at all, the name of people of color was unjustly applied to Africans and their descendants. The fact was, the white were not black were people of color, and, therefore, all white men ought to be slaves. He concluded, by referring to a remarkable coincidence, that not one of the seven slaveholders who were Presidents of the United States had a legitimate son. He considered this a judgment of God against them for the United States had a legitimate son. He and the task now is, not to oring men to acknowledge the wrongfulness of slavery, but, which is far for having held slaves. Their names were Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and Taylog, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and Taylog, and Jor.

A. M. Howels, an Englishman, probably a missing the intellect. The state of compromise is of all A Mr. Howels, an Englishman, probably a missionary from Exeter Hall, came forward to give what he called his dying testimony. He dwelt on those dark ages of ignorance when he and his felciples; he plays with a subject intellectually, inlow-laborers were pelted with rotten eggs, old shoes, and other unseemly missiles, and when Gen. Webb, now a converted and repentant sinner, headed a band of fillibusters, who broke up their hears, the wiser he is, but to the beating heart in heads, and when headed a band of fillibusters, who broke up their

Gen. Webb, now a converted and repentant sinner, headed a band of fillibusters, who broke up their meeting. He did not approve the constitution, and had intended to become a citizen, until he found it was a tissue of truth and error, justice and iniquity, and he could not give it his support. (What an invaluable citizen was here lost to the country!) He thought Franklin Pierce was doing good, as he was serving the devil in his own way. In compliment, we presume, to Mr. Seward and the seven candlesticks, he thought the oath to support the constitution ought to be abolished, for oaths were only useful to men of no principle, who feared neither God nor the devil.

We would extend our extracts much further but for the apprehension of sickening our readers, as we have already sickened ourselves, with these disgusting details of the aberrations and perversions of the human mind. We have, however, presented in these brief quotations enough to show to every man who will take the trouble of an analysis, that they strike at the very top-roots of religion, morality, and politics. If these principles are carried out fully, and ever become the future guides of human action, there can be no religion, no morality, and no government. Chaos would come again; the elements of society would fall into utter confusion, and another dispersion, like into utter confusion, and another dispersion, like into utter confusion, and another dispersion, like

Yet, strange to say, three thousand clergymen of New England, and many, very many, elsewhere, have become fellow-laborers in this harvest of injusty. They have made common cause with abortions the Church, the State, that right shall be purged from every taint of wrong, that it may be pursued with a single eye and a steadfast will. The high-minded and sincerman examines and suspects himself, guarding against the casuistry of the intellect and the subtler wiles of the flesh. He sees evil as it is, through all its veils and enchantments, and he spurns it. He fears lest a noble prudence may be timidity, lest selfishness lurk in his holiest wisdom, and something like pride mar his most cautious re-serve. In his anxiety to serve goodness, and good-ness only, he cross-questions every virtue, to make sure that no dishonorable motive taints it; and then, if his hand or his foot cause him to offend, he is ready to cut them off, and cast them from him. Thus he keeps no terms with the enemy, and finally compels him to submit. Not without pain is this manly course chosen and pursued. For passion is strong and desire entices; many are the charms of animal content; sweet are the blandish-ments of the world; and the siren voices of friends, the wealthy, the elegant, the refined, the affection ate and near of kin-ah, how seductive they are The hiss of the old serpent is dreadful when i comes through the teeth of the powerful in intel The loss of social repute, the loss lect and place. The loss of social repute, the loss of ease, of riches too—it ought not to be hard to bear all this, but it is. For all, the way is so clear, and Truth overhead, the dread hereafter opening under our feet, it is not easy to serve the good God. But what power comes through that service! What illuminations come too! What ecstasics of triumphant joy! How the film burns off from the eye! How the brood of lusts flee be-

> 'The path of duty is the way of glory : He that walks it, only thirsting For the right, and learns to deaden Love of self, before his journey closes He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting Into glossy purples, which outredden All voluptuous garden-roses.
> The path of duty is the way to glory:
> He that, ever following her commands
> On with toil of heart and knees and hands On win toil of heart and knees and hands. Thre'the long gorge to the far light, has won His path upward and prevailed, Shall find the toppling crags of duty, scaled, Are close upon the shining table-lands. To which our God himself is moon and sun.'

The Anti-Slavery cause has nobly illustrated these the poet gate of conscience, and let the light of God's truth shine into the souls of men. There would be little question then of ways and means. Details would arrange themselves.

Never did this grand policy demand more fidelity than now. Never did the public conscience need more earnest and pointed appeals. The outworks have been carried. The Abolitionists have compelled the public mind to grant the abstract wrong of slavery. But they have not yet forced the public will to war against slavery as a sin. Men are intellectually convinced, but not morally moved. Everybody calls himself an Abolitionist; few follow that calling; and until the calling is followed, nothing is achieved. In meditating upon of slavery, I am more and more impressed with

so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say so; venerable old men, and mossy young men, all say so alike. There is not a conservative, portly or wrinkled, who does not feel insulted if you calibim a pro-slavery man. But whereto does all this profession tend! To nothing; aye, to less than nothing. It is positively unfriendly to the cause of Freedom. Leaving profession aside, taking character and the influence thereof by itself, are the majority of these people anti-slavery men? They are pro-slavery men. Their action is practically on the oppressor's side. The name of Abolitionist is assumed not as a pledge of hostility to the Slave Power, but as a sign of neutrality. It declares, not that men are in league with the friends of freedom, but that they wish to clude their notice and to avoid their assault; not that they are prepared to fight, but that they are anyious to escape from fighting. A young man takes charge of a parish as its minister. In public or in private, he gives out that his views are opposed to slavery. Forthwith the respectable members of the society meet him blandly, take him by the hand, express their joy at his coming, and their entire concurrence with his sentiments, and add, significantly, in allusion to this special matter, 'Of course, you know we are all anti-slavery people here; we all sympathize with you entirely on that point.' Now, why is this said! Is it spoken in praise of the sermon in question! No; it is spoken in condemnation of it. Is it meant to encourage the young preacher to declare his convic-

demoniac men are more conspicuous than the saintly. You know who they are that defend slavery as a Divine institution—patronize the Bible for supporting it—patronize the apostle Paul for returning Onesimus to his master—talk of God's providence in the bideous crime, as if the Almighty was the chief overseer and master driver on their plantations—speak of the beneficial effects of the system upon all concerned, and especially upon the blacks, by bringing them within the reach of an oppressive 'Christianity.' You know who they are who rave and bluster about abolitionists, and write truculent letters to Northern ministers and lecture committees. Some of these people are genial, dushing, rioting, reckless men, good-humored, fiery, with great relish of animal life, and no appreciation of spiritual. Now and then you see a more deadly specimen of the class—a man whose heart is as insensible as the nether millstone to the slave's pitful story, and the fereman's indignant remonstrance, and the Christ's weeping appeal—who denounces open speech, and bandies about 'infidel' and 'traitor,' and is a loud advocate for orthodox believing, because orthodox believing, because orthodox believing, because orthodox behavior. You know who they are. I need not name them. But these persons, like the heroes, are few. It costs a struggle to occupy this position. As one cannot without conflict and sorrow reach the depths of fame, neither can one without conflict and sorrow reach the depths of infamy. The soul does not walk meekly to the alar of sacrifice. It makes resistance; it protests; it beseches; it is hard to turn away from its com-

There is, therefore, another class, the compromisers, or, as I prefer calling them, the Palterers.

These people wish to be on both sides—to get Godis blessing and the devil's plums, to be nominally on good terms with conscience, while practically they indulge desire. They will pay that respect to the soul as not in terms to disown it, but at the same lime the sense lime the sen at the same time the senses have delights which they would by no means dispense with. palterer fills up with casuistry the great gulf be-twixt God and the Devil, and resolves the whole process of duty into a matter of common sense. does not deny that evil in the abstract is evil; God forbid! He confesses that, and asserts it vigorously; he is only persuaded that evil in himself is not evil. His wrong-doing is either no wrong-doing at all, or it is done under a compulsion which leaves his conscience undisturbed. leaves his conscience undisturbed. He has a hor-ror of moral insensibility, but what appears so much like it in him is only a cool, compressed re-serve, that will not waste its power in fluttering enthusiasm, but sternly bides its time for practi-cal action. He despises moral cowardice, but he is brave enough: he only believes honestly that discretion in his case is the better part of valor. He abominates the principle that public justice and humanity are to be sacrificed to personal interests. He loves public justice and humanity, and means to be loyal to them; but he is persuaded that these great ends cannot be permanently advanced sistently with a wise, solid, unselfish con-tion of private interests. Of course, a man inconsistently with a wise, solid, unselfish conservation of private interests. Of course, a man must obey the law of God. The law of God, by all sits, and if those labors prematurely cease, that must obey the law of God. The law of God, by all means, before any other law! He obeys it, never knowingly disobeys it—is extremely penitent when he does so. But he is not so rash as to imagine that he himself is to be a private interpreter of that law, that his conscience is to expound it, that his heart is to authenticate it. Far from him be the presumption of judging God by himself. There is the good old Bible; there is the good, sound old minister; God-fearing men made the laws of the State; and the common sense of the people, 'vox populi,' is not that, too, the voice of God! This pious talk is only a palterer's make-believe. He is trying to persuade himself that he is serving God by acknowledging that he ought to be served. He is trying to reconcile the fullest gratification of his desires with a sincere profession of piety. He is really serving God, and only apparently serving mammon; when the truth is, that he is really serving mammon; and only apparently serving God. Here, then, are three classes: those who serve God, those who serve the Devil, and those who think they are serving both.

Which of these characters is most harmful to

be borne aloft by the hands which first upraised it.

Which of these characters is most harmful to the community? I answer, the latter. For he executes, as palpably as any, the devil's work, and his influence is the more deadly because it is concealed. Satan loses half his power when he shows his tail. In the garb of a fine gentleman, he finds conquest easy. Is it not possible that the Presidency of Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, might be a heavier blow to the Slave Power than the Presidency of Millard Fillmore? Is it not notorious that the most fatal enemy to Freedom has been the Northern man with Southern principles?—Not the free-spoken, open-hearted Southerner who is so confident of his cause that he exposes its weakness; not the bot-headed representative of the chivalry who gives you rant for reasoning, and puts men into straight opposition to him in laughter or rage; not the bold champion, like Calhoun, who takes up the defence of slavery in serious carnest, and challenges all the world to battle. These men indirectly injure their cause by provoking antagonism. But your compromiser, your palterer, your bland, sleek, wary man, who comes from a free State, and professes free principles, while he is entirely at the disposal of the most powerful party—the man who counts Northern votes by his speeches, and Southern votes by his speeches, and Southern votes by his policy—he is the foe of liberty, the more daugerous for his false the formal partical in the Baltimore American, signed 'Many Captains,' as particularly hard on vessels trading to Baltimore, as it is impossible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is impossible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is is impossible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is is inpossible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is is inpossible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is is in possible for them to get to sea from Baltimore, as it is is impossible for them to get to sea from State, and professes free principles, while he is entirely at the disposal of the most powerful party—the man who counts Northern votes by his speeches, and Southern votes by his pleicy—he is the foc of liberty, the more daugerous for his false face and his subtlety. One of the most effective of the lectures in the Anti-Slavery course in Boston, two years ago, was given by the Hon. Senator from Texas, Gen. Houston, whose avowed pro-slavery views disgusted even the most ancient of the conservatives; the weakness of whose arguments made his friends ashamed. An open champion of slavery puts us on our guard, awakens our belligherent feelings, and provokes attack. But a palterent feelings, and provokes attack. But a palter is no doubt just ground for them. It adds—

'Virginia, however, in protecting herself, has origmade his friends ashamed. An open champion of slavery puts us on our guard, awakens our bellig-erent feelings, and provokes attack. But a palter-er disarms opposition. It is hard to assail a man who swears that he sympathizes with you, and has at heart the same ends, though you are secretly persuaded that his influence all goes to defeat those ends. You cannot reason with a man who assents to all your arguments. You cannot denounce a man as an enemy of freedom who turns round and protests that he is as true a friend of liberty as you are. So you must sit still, and see innoce people deceived, and confiding parties betrayed.

protests that he is as true a friend of liverly as you are. So you must sit still, and see innocent people deceived, and confiding parties betrayed.

[To be concluded.]

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Extract from the last Annual Report of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society:—

In the present agitation on the subject of slavery, friends of the Society in the Northern States have expressed an earnest desire that more should be published on the acknowledged evils connected with that system.

All the known wishes of the Society, or of any of its members and supporters, the Committee wish ever to regard, as far as consists with the solomon obligations under which the Society have bound them by the Constitution, the law under which they act.

The sacred compact which binds the Society to Prack with all God's redeemed people, in seeking the gory of Christ and the salvation of the perishing, is 'known and read of all men.' It was entered into thirty-one years ago by the Society founders, in assurance that evangelical Christians do agree in the great essential, practical truths of revelation which have been emineutly blessed by the Holy Spirit in saving souls from death and raising the most of the society is founders, in assurance that evangelical Christians of men existing Tract Societies solemnly and unanimously adopted this compact. It was publicly and unanimously adopted this constitution in its organization, was solemnly re-affirmed on accepting the act of incorporation, and has been sacredly adhered to in all the Society's harmonious course, on which the bleasing of God has so richly restricted from the nexisting Tract Societies solemnly existing the constitution in its organization, was solemnly re-affirmed on accepting the fundamental article of its Constitution in its organization, was solemnly re-affirmed on accepting the fundamental art

soon rids himself of his angels. Having said, 'Eril, be thou my good,' the spirit of goodness departs from him, and the devils quietly enter in and take possession. The anti-slavery cause has turned ap examples of this kind too. I will not hame them. You can do that for yourselves. The demoniac men are more conspicuous than the saintly. You know who they are that defend slavery as a Divine institution—natronize the Bible for carried into affect that was not unanimous. Noth-

refise. It makes resistance; it protests; it beseeches; it is hard to turn away from its complaint. Before one becomes utterly shameless, omitted would be offensive to some evangelical
conscience will make him writhe; departing selfrespect will rend his soul in twain; his generous
sentiments will give him a pang as they flee away;
there is a raging of volcanic fires, and then there
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is a raging of volcanic fires, and then the r is a mountain of stone, where living streams of charity and sweet flowers of truth had been. If jects in question, under the teaching and guidance of the word, the Spirit, and the Providence of God, till they shall discern more clearly how they may make themselves devils.

WORK YET TO BE DONE.

Extract from the Twenty-Second Annual Report of that the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society :-

In the review of such a year as the past has been, there is so much to strengthen the faith and hope of the abolitionist, so much to awaken thanksproper of the abolitionist, so much to awaken thanks-giving and rejoicing, that we may be tempted to believe that our lab r is well-nigh done, that the toil and the conflict have passed into other hands, and that nothing remains for us to do but to look on the battle a little while longer, and join the ut of victory at its close.

This is truly a novel temptation to those who This is truly a novel temperature that it is a superstance in the days when to bear the anti-slavery name was a reproach, and to live the life of an abolitionist was to put in peril property and life; abolitionist was to put in peril property and life; yet it is none the less real on that account. Adversity and persecution strengthen the true-hearted in a good cause; but when that cause attains popularity, sits in the chair of State, and is honored among men, then should its advocates be especially wary that they compromise no iota of principle, and that they desert not their posts of duty, in the hope that they will be occupied by others. The strong and rushing tide of anti-slavery sentiment, now setting Southward, and which, if it stay not in its progress, will overwhelm and ed it.

Virginia, however, in protecting herself, has originated a system which we think cannot be legally sustained, and which certainly inflicts serious injustice upon innocent parties. The fee, which inures to the inspectors, is a constant temptation, leading them to apply the law to all outward bound vessels, even where there is every description. there is every degree of certainty that there is neither the opportunity nor the will to interfere with the rights of the slave-owners of that State, thus making it a means of private emolument rather than public utility.

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Hopedale.

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Home school, we prefer to speak better.

Unfavorably of them.

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Those wishing to correspond with us in referred business or educational matters, will please address to the present, at Hopedale, Milford, Mass.

MORGAN L. BLOOM.

MORGAN L. BLOOM, SOPHIA LOUISA BLOOM Hopedale, Mass., April 15, 1856.